ñAn Experiment in Democracy:ò Civilian Public Service and Conscientious Objectors in World War II

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By
Marcus Yoder

The Ohio State University

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Project Advisor: Professor Richard Shiels, Department of History

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ns and Abbreviations

AFSC = American Friends Service Committee

BSC= Brethren Service Committee

CCC -- Civilian Conservation Corps

CO -- Conscientious Objectors

CPS -- Civilian Public Service

FSA ï Farm Security Administration

HPC ï Historic Peace Churches

MCC ï Mennonite Central Committee

MWPC = Methodist World Peace Commission

SSS = Selective Service System

NPS ï National Park Service

NSBRO -- National Service Board for Religious Objectors

OSRD ï Office of Scientific Research and Development

PAX ï Post war Mennonite Relief agency patterned after CPS

WRAð War Relocation Authority

Burkes-Wadsworth Selective Service Bill ï Introduced to US Senate on 20 June 1940, Passed in Senate and House on 13 Sept. 1940 as the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940. Signed into law by FDR on 16 September, 1940 and enacted in October 1940. Had paragraph that included provision for conscientious objector.

DSS Form 47 ï Application submitted to the local draft board for Conscientious Objector status.

Executive Order 8675 ï The order, signed by President Roosevelt on 6 February, 1941, which gave Selective Service Director authority to determine work of national importance, assign men to camps, and supervise, equip and regulate the process. Initially set for six month, but extended to six month after the end of war.

Executive Order 9066 ï The order, signed by President Roosevelt in February 1942, which gave the Army authority to round up and detain Japanese Americans in the western USA.

IV-E -- Army classification given if physically fit but conscientiously opposed to military service in World War II. Status of all CPS men.

I-W ï Army classification for the physically fit but conscientiously opposed to military service in draft from1951-1973. This classification replaced the IV-E of World War II.

Starnes Act -1943- Military appropriation bill of 1943 that included provision that prohibited COôs from serving beyond continental USA.

Introduction

On May 22, 1941 eight young men arrived at an abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp near Grottoes, Virginia. Of Mennonite and Church of the Brethren persuasion, they were about to embark on what the director of the Selective Service, General Lewis Hershey, called ñan experiment in democracy.ò[1] They were the first of large number of Mennonite and Brethren conscientious objectors (CO) who would enter a program known as Civilian Public Service (CPS), which provided alternative service for the COs for the duration of World War II.

When the United States entered the Second World War, most Americans were convinced that it was an appropriate and just war to fight. Most Americans, both in the military and on the home front, felt that it was their duty as citizens to be involved in any way possible for America to win the victory over the evil Axis powers. In the midst of this world conflict, many stories of heroism emerge, both on the home front and on the battlefield. Many of these stories are lost as the heroes - who saw their service not as heroism, but as their duty - have died. Included in this heroism are the stories from the home front where people who were not soldiers also acted with a great deal of bravery. This ñgreatest generationò as Tom Brokaw has called them ñanswered the call to help save the world from the two most powerful and ruthless military machines ever assembled, instruments of conquest in the hands of fascist maniacs. They faced great odds and a late start, but they did not protest.ò[2] In recent years, World War II has often been called the

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[1] Qtd. in George Q. Flynn, ñLewis Hershey and the Conscientious Objector: the World War II Experience.ò *Military Affairs* 47 (February 1983): 2

[2] Tom Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation* (New York: Random House, 1998), xix. See also Steven J. Taylor, *Acts of Conscience*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 26.

lshed and personal tragedy that is a part of any war. This is because it enjoyed unprecedented popularity, and the perception that America emerged as a stronger and better nation because of the war.

What then about those Americans who would not and could not fight for reasons of conscience? If this greatest generation answered the call to fight the good war, then what of those within that generation who did not fight? A closer evaluation of a small group of people who refused to enter the military, and the program they developed as an alternative means of service, shows that they were also a part of this ñgreatest generation,ò and made a significant impact on the American landscape not only in monetary terms through their work, but also in their bravery in living out their conscience in face of criticism. This in turn allowed Americans to think fundamentally differently about the cause of conscientious objectors (CO).

Among those not willing to join the military were many members of what are called the Historic Peace Churches (HPC). Comprised of the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Church of the Brethren, and the Mennonite Church, these churches stood conscientiously opposed to military action as the way to fix the woes of the world. Because of their stance, they developed an organization that offered their young men an opportunity to serve without violating their conscience. This organization, Civilian Public Service (CPS), with its nearly 12,000 men who served, is one of the untold stories of the general history of World War II. These men, while not a part of the standing army, gave a great deal to the United States and the world with the work in which they were engaged. It is not unreasonable for a country to require service in times of

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[3]This term ñGood Warò is a term that has been coined by the filmmaker Ken Burns and the author Studs Terkel. This view is largely a result of the negative impact of a ñbadò war, Vietnam. See also Rachel Waltner Goossen, *Women Against the Good War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 2.

one in a free society where personal conscience and beliefs are also valued.[4]

There are many facets of CPS that could be studied. Out of necessity, this study will focus primarily on the Mennonite part of this story. While in no way diminishing the role that the Quakers and the Brethren played, this is simply because of time and space. It is also because of opportunities to interview those of the Mennonite and Amish faith.[5] I grew up in a community where ñcamp daysò were discussed by the older people and that added an impetus for this particular work, and helped shape the focus on the particular camps. In my research, one of the most rewarding personal experiences was finding references to grandparents who served in the program. This made the program much more personal and led to many meaningful connections that enhanced this work.

This work will first cover the background of the program. An understanding of the events and theology leading to CPS are necessary to understand the context of the program. The second chapter will examine the three denominations that make up the HPC in their historical context. It will then look at the origins of the beliefs of the HPC, especially in relation to the issue of military service and engagement with the government. It will further focus on how these beliefs influenced actions in conflicts previous to World War II. The third chapter details the actual development of CPS, and how the HPC interacted with the United States government to allow

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[4]See Steven J. Taylor, *Acts of Conscience*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 384-385. Also *Minutes of the Meeting of the Historic Peace Churches, March 10-11 1939,* Goshen IN, Mennonite Church Archives, http://www.mcusa-archives.org/GutenbergtoGigabytes/Archives/Mennonite_Church_1898-2002. (Referred from here as MC-Archives).

[5]The Amish who are theologically related to the Mennonite did not have their own organization in CPS. They primarily worked with the Mennonites and will be considered a part of them in demographic studies, etc. They did help finance the program and also provided spiritual assistance by sending ministers to conduct services for their groups in various camps. The MC-Archives has records of the various Amish church districtsô financial contributions that were funneled through MCC.

o explores the role of the Selective Service and the issue of authority, which became one of the central issues in the program.

Chapter four looks at how camps were organized, and the complex relationship of the churches to the government. It also looks at the financial aspects of the program and the monetary value of the program, both in how it benefited America and the price paid by the HPC for the program. Chapter five looks at the kinds of work the men did in these camps. It reveals the four basic areas of work that the camps focused upon, and also looks at ñdetached service,ò which became more popular as the program grew. Representative camps are used for each of the major areas to show the ñaverageò work of CPS. The experimental medical programs and ñguinea pigò projects for which the men volunteered are also examined.

Finally, chapter six looks at the impact of the program, both in relation to how it changed the men and the churches which served and gave, and in how it changed the perspective of the CO. The CPS program, while only in existence for seven years, fundamentally changed the way conscientious objectors (COôs) were viewed. Because of its degree of sacrifice and the subsequent publicity, CPS opened up a way for people to view COôs in a much more favorable light than in previous conflicts. This chapter also focuses on the racial and social problems that became an issue in CPS. This closing chapter also considers the impact of CPS on the Mennonite church and how the exposure led to a fundamental change in how they view themselves and the world. Some of the questions that CPS raised about involvement with the government and the military in CPS are contemplated.

The question of necessity plagues any author: why another work? After all, in 1989 it was estimated that there had been over 70,000 volumes done on World War II, with the number

of World War II narrows considerably with the added dimension of pacifism and non-resistance. In 1949, Melvin Gingerich, commissioned by the Mennonite Church, published *Service for Peace,* which was the first comprehensive look at CPS. Guy Hershberger and Albert Keim added valuable works. Oral histories have added a great deal to the story. It becomes obvious as one studies CPS that the background, development, organization and work of CPS led to social changes not only in the participants and churches but also in the governing policy and people of the United States. This change, while documented, is relatively unknown to the general public. Even within the HPC, this program is fading from memories as those who actively participated, pass on. It is of utmost importance that their stories be recorded, for it is they who know the price paid for CPS.

The stories of the men and women interviewed anchor this work. Their contribution to the history of CPS and this particular study is invaluable. It is, after all, their story.

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[6]Michael J. Lyons, *World War II: A Short History* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2004), xi.

ackground to CPS

The deep reverberations that were produced by World War II extended to the HPC. The development of new weaponry and tactics caused horrific loss of life. Advances in media allowed the war to permeate the home front in an unparalleled way. Social historians have long recognized the historic changes this time wrought on American society; the war also did much to shape the historical experiences of the HPC.[1] Because ñthe essential economic aim of World War II was to outproduce the enemy,ò the home front saw a drive to produce goods and war materials that pushed most people into the war effort.[2] What then should non-resistant or pacifistic groups do? An understanding of the theology of the HPC and their views of war and militarism, including the differences between the groups, helps one understand their actions regarding CPS and World War II.

The term Historic Peace Churches refers to the Quakers, Church of the Brethren and Mennonites. The term, ñHistoric Peace Churchesò was first coined in a meeting of the three church groups in 1935 in Newton Kansas, where each group articulated their view of militarism.[3] This important event was the first time the three shared their ideas about how to present their non-militaristic views in a cohesive manner in case of another war. While each of the three has distinctive theological views, the common thread that brings them together is their pacifism or non-resistance, along with an unwillingness to engage in any form of military action. In

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[1]Perry Bush, *Two Kingdoms, Two Loyalties: Mennonite Pacifism in Modern America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 56.

[2]Alan Milward qtd. in Bush, 57.

[3]*Secretary Report of the Conference of Historic Peace Churches, Oct. 31-Nov.2, 1935,* MC Archives. See also Guy Franklin Hershberger, War Peace & Non-resistance, (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1981), 123.

ed independently to live out their convictions, but after the disastrous experience with military service and the draft in World War I, they had begun to interact to form a stronger, more cohesive position with the government.[4]

While all three were committed to pacifism, they held slightly different understandings of that term. Pacifism is generally defined as the belief that violence, war and taking of lives are unacceptable means of resolving disputes and conflicts both on an individual and national level. In the broadest sense pacifism is not so much negative, against war and violence, as it is positive; pacifists look for peaceful means of resolving human conflict. Mulford Q. Sibley, a political scientist, has broadly defined three different types of pacifism in his study of conscientious objectors in World War II entitled *Conscription of Conscience.* First are those who interpret the Bible literally, whose non-resistance is rooted in Jesusô words to ñnot resist evilò and that all who ñtake the sword will perish by the sword.ò[5] Most Mennonites have taken this position and say that these words are meant for literal application and normative for Christians of all ages. Therefore most Mennonites prefer the term non-resistance to that of pacifism. For the second group, pacifism is rooted in the spirit of the biblical teaching of love rather than literal interpretation of Scripture. Sibley includes in this category Quakers and other groups (Jews, Hindus, etc.) who stress love and non-violence as rooted in their holy books. This view is often called the non-literalist or liberal view. The third view is that of the utilitarian school of

[4]This will be covered in greater detail later, suffice to say that the Mennonite Church has always interacted with others on this issue, but were cautious to form bonds with each other that may have encouraged ecumenicalism.

[5]Matthew 5:39 and 52. RSV

manitarian or pragmatic grounds. Sibley includes here some anarchists and Marxists who oppose war.[6]

The Mennonites are the oldest of the three peace churches. Today the term Mennonite represents an umbrella term, covering a wide range of theological, political and behavioral understandings among a myriad of related peoples.[7] These peoples have their roots in the Reformation and small group of dissenters who were called Anabaptists, and sometimes as ñThe third wing of the Reformation.ò[8] Anabaptists originated in both Holland and Switzerland beginning in 1523-1530. Many of the initial leaders were martyred but a former Dutch priest named Menno Simmons lived to became one of the principal leaders. His followers were called Menists and later Mennonites. Initially, the movement grew rapidly, so fast in fact that both the Catholics and Protestants felt threatened.[9] Historian Calvin Redekop asserts that Anabaptists became ñone of the fastest growing religious movements in early modern times, spreading over the Germanic speaking areas of Europe.ò[10] In 1693-1700 a division led by Jakob Amman led to a more conservative group developing which later became known as the Amish. The Amish have traditionally been more conservative in both theology and practice than are the Mennonites. Since that time there have been two distinct groups of Anabaptists, the Amish and the Mennonites, with splinter groups emerging from each of these.

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[6] Taken from J. Howard Kaufman, ñDilemmas of Christian Pacifism within the Historic Peace Churchò *Sociological Analysis* (49:4Winter 1989) 369 .

[7] Bush, 19.

[8] It is unknown who coined this term, although it is in wide use among Anabaptist historians. They are sometimes called the ñradicalsò of the reformation a termed coined by George Huntson William. For more see Marcus Yoderôs *The Third Wing of the Reformation: Establishing Anabaptist Identity in the Reformation*, unpublished paper, 2007.

[9] The Anabaptists were one group the Protestants and Catholics agreed upon in the Reformation. They were dangerous and needed to be destroyed because they believed a free church would bring chaos to Europe.

[10] Qtd. in Bush, p.20.

origin and in belief which makes it difficult to categorize. Generally historians have agreed that there are a handful of major theological issues that define early Anabaptism. The first of these is an adamant opposition to infant baptism. This caused them to call for voluntary adult baptism based on the personôs confession of faith in Jesus Christ. This was a radically different approach than that of the Catholic Church, or that of the Reformers, who believed that church and civil government needed to be in a strong union for either to be successful. Infant baptism was a way to include nearly all the people in a geographic area into one church. The Anabaptist raised two questions: *when* a person should be baptized but more importantly *who* should be baptized. They felt that the Bible called for only those who could make an adult decision to follow Christ, as his disciple, were worthy of being baptized. They challenged both the traditional view of baptism, and the European concept of the church. For Anabaptists the church should be voluntary and free, not bound by the state or owing itôs allegiance to the state. An individual makes a personal choice to enter the church, and the church is not bound to a territory; nor controlled in any way by the civil authorities.[11] Church membership is those who voluntarily have chosen to follow Christ and not a function of living in a certain geographical region. In this way, they became the first group to call for the radical separation of the church and the state.

This call for the separation of church and state led to the issue of non-resistance and governmental involvement. Most Anabaptists felt strongly that Christians needed to be people of peace, while at the same time struggling with how much involvement they should have in the political system. Their view of peace and non-resistance was initially a much debated part of

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[11]George Huntston Williams, *The Radicals of the Reformation* (Kirksville, MO: Truman University Press, 2000) 213. Also Harold Bender, *The Anabaptist Vision.*

ncluded believers on a wide continuum, ranging from some who advocated complete involvement in government and encouraged the use of force to bring about their goals, to others who insisted upon complete withdrawal from society.[12] What emerged from this theological struggle is what is often referred to as the two kingdom theory. Christ's followers are called to be part of another kingdom. The kingdoms of the world (political powers) are legitimate, but Christians are a part of another kingdom with its own ethical requirements. In this kingdom love and peace are pervasive, and therefore one should not participate in physical warfare.[13] While there are varying degrees of acceptance of this by the Anabaptists, they have generally agreed that this means no involvement in any coercing agencies such as police, militia and army. They have also generally agreed that Christians may not participate in any form of government where one had to sanction the use of force. Therefore most types of political service are not feasible.

The idea that defines and drives most early Anabaptists is not so much baptism, church membership and even non-resistance, but rather that of authority. Who or what is the final authority on these issues. The Catholics said it was tradition, dogma and the scriptures, and the Protestant reformers argued that Scripture as taught by the learned theologians is the source of spiritual authority. Anabaptists agreed with the Protestants in principle, but went further and said that the Scriptures are to be interpreted and practically applied in the context of the circle of believers. They focused on the teachings of Jesus and especially the Sermon on the Mount.

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[12]There are several unfortunate examples of Anabaptists attempting to use force to bring about Christ's kingdom on earth, chief is the debacle at Münster in 1535. All were killed by a combined force of Protestants and Catholics, which is unusual. See Stephen Russel, *Overcoming Evil God's Way* (Guys Mills PA: FaithBuilders Resource Group, 2008), 188-192. And Dr. John Roth's *Choosing Against War* (Intercourse PA: Good Books, 2002).

[13]See Romans 13:1-7; John 18:36 for the scriptural basis which the Anabaptists use for this two kingdom theology.

rist one had to literally follow his commands and teaching. Therefore following Christ and discipleship are of paramount importance to Anabaptists.[14]

The Church of the Brethren, often referred to as Brethren, emerged from the pietistic movement in Germany in the early 1700s.[15] The group has many of the same tenets as the Mennonites, and is considered by many a union of Pietism and Anabaptism.[16] Its view of war and involvement in military and government is almost identical to that of the Mennonites. The Church of the Brethren has often collaborated with the Mennonites on issues of theology, polity and practice.

The Society of Friends, or Quakers as they are more commonly known, was a movement begun by George Fox in England and brought to the New World by William Penn and others. They are a radically egalitarian movement that promotes pacifism. Their pacifism is based on their view of the Scriptures that indicate that one should not fight.[17] It is also based in the Quaker view of the imminent transcendence of God and the infinite worth of each human being, based on the classic formula of Fox: ñThere is that of God in every man.ò[18] This pacifism had not precluded Quakers from becoming involved in government, particularly in early Pennsylvania. This view, which is similar to Gandhiôs or Martin Luther Kingôs view of non-

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[14] See Harold Bender, *The Anabaptists Vision.*

[15] Pietism is a revival movement that began in Europe in the late 1600s which emphasized more diligent Bible reading, laity involvement in spiritual life and personal conversion. It is often considered an European parallel to Methodism, revivalism, and fundamentalism in the New World. For more see, Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 16-17.

[16] This is a very simplistic statement, but because of space and scope, elaboration is not possible. Suffice it to say that these two groups are cousins with distinctive differences when it comes to mode of baptism (The Brethren are strong immersionists) which has often led to them to be called *Tunkers* or Dunkers.

[17] Dr. Richard Shiels, *Quakers in England,* Class Lecture, OSU-Newark, April 13, 2009.

[18] Qtd.. in Albert N. Keim and Grant M. Stoltzfus, *The Politics of Conscience* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2000), 21.

e Mennonite and Church of the Brethren have traditionally espoused. It is much more a liberal pacifist view than a non-resistant view. It also allowed the Quakers to be much more involved in government and policy making throughout American history, especially in Pennsylvania.

Mennonite non-resistance differs from *Quaker pacifism* in that it is less focused on the moral goodness of humanity than it is on belonging to a community that is focused on following the Scriptures literally and bringing peace. Pacifism generally allows for some non-violent means of coercion to bring about peace, such as civil disobedience, whereas non-resistance eschews any force that attempts to coerce. Therefore, Mennonites historically did not question the governmentôs right to wage war, or any other means of maintaining order in a wicked world, as long as it excused those who could not do so for the sake of conscience.[19] One could argue that going to prison instead of joining the military as some Mennonites and Brethren is a non-violent means of coercion, but in the historical Mennonite worldview this is seen more as ñwe must obey God rather than manò and rooted in two-kingdom thinking.[20]

In 1937, the largest group of Mennonites, the General Conference Mennonites (GC), prepared a position paper on their view of peace. In it they say that followers of Christ must ñabstain from all forms of military service, and all means of support of war, and must consider members who violate these principles as transgressors and out of fellowship with the church.ò[21] While not all the Mennonites agreed with this view, it became the general view of the church going into World War II. The 1937 Paper also said that service in any form, whether with the Red Cross or any

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[19]Bush, 78.
[20]Acts 5:29 ESV
[21]*A Statement of Our Position on Peace, War and Military Service*, Mennonite General Conference, Turner OR: Aug. 1937, MC-Archives, 124.

ry, was not permitted. They went on to say that they would do all things possible to relieve suffering, and would work constructively for the highest welfare of the United States as ñloyal and obedient citizens.ò[22] This statement is important because it does set the base for an alternative means of service that would be of value to the country, which realized itself, however imperfectly, in CPS.

This difference between Quakers and Mennonites was an issue that bothered many Mennonites. Perhaps their young men would be swayed into liberal pacifism rather than biblical non-resistance. In the position papers and writings of the Mennonites during this era, there are repeated warnings about this kind of engagement. The reticence of Mennonites to partner with the Quakers was less about application then it was about theology. The fact that they did partner is amazing, and in retrospect liberal pacifism probably did temper Mennonite non-resistance in CPS, which may have made it a more palatable offering for the government. Most Mennonites also understood that they would need the help of the Quakers who had previously taken the lead in lobbying efforts for pacifism. It was this understanding that caused them to cautiously enter into a partnership with the Quakers and Brethren in CPS.

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[22] *Statement of our Position*, 125.

The History of CPS

The idea of alternative service and CPS were something very new in the 1940s even though the HPC were very old. The Mennonites and Quakers had a presence on American soil from early in Colonial America. The first Mennonite church had been founded in Germantown, PA in 1698 and Quakers had a long and founding role on the colony of Pennsylvania. Understanding the historical context of the HPC and their views of war and militarism, including their actions and reactions in previous conflicts, helps one understand their actions regarding CPS and World War II. The non-resistant Anabaptist had lived through many wars and the most recent, World War I, led them to look for an alternative.

In the Revolutionary War, Pennsylvania had the largest concentration of Mennonites. Generally, they held true to their historical beliefs and did not join the local militias, even under duress. The military draft law passed by the Continental Congress on March 17, 1777, requiring all able bodied men between eighteen and fifty-three to enroll in the militia or pay a substitution fine, was a huge dilemma for the Mennonites. A second more encompassing law passed on June 13 of that same year, requiring every white male to take an oath or affirmation to the new Continental government, extended the dilemma to an unprepared church. Both the oath and the substitution fine were highly problematic for the Mennonites.[1] They felt that if they had once affirmed their loyalty to the British Crown they could not now do so to another government, especially a rebellious government. While many paid the substitution fine, which was intended to provide an alternative, it too raised many questions. Was one supporting the war? If the

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[1]Ruth John Landis, *The Earth is the Lord's*. (Scottsdale PA: Herald Press, 2001), 328

ands of those who had sent them? While the Mennonites came out of the war relatively unscathed in relation to non-resistance, they struggled to integrate in the new United States because of their loyalist leanings.[2]

In the American Civil War, the national draft laws forced individual states to meet quotas to fill the army. Mennonites were not exempt from this and they appealed to local officials and even to President Lincoln for relief. The extant appeals, particularly one from Ohio Mennonite Bishop John M. Breneman, are quick to state that Mennonites were not secessionist, but could not fight because of their conscience.[3] Breneman also appealed to the president that Virginia in the South had allowed the Mennonites to pay a fee and so should the North. He was quick to note that historically the Mennonites had not supported slavery or rebellion and their history would speak for itself. It is unknown whether Lincoln ever read the letter, but as a statement on Mennonite non-resistance it speaks volumes. It clarifies the difference between conscientious objectors and rebels, and adopts a humble rather than aggressive approach. It recognizes the role of the government, but also asks that they recognize the Mennonite position, and indicates a willingness to pay a substitution fee which they did willingly.[4] This represents an evolution of belief and an acceptance of substitution for the Mennonite church.

In the South, the situation in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia was particularly severe with both Union and Confederate armies seizing crops and attempting to conscript Mennonite men to their cause. There is no indication that any of the men served in the Confederate army and most

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[2]Several hundred Mennonites moved to Canada and began the large settlement just west of Toronto in the Kitchener- Waterloo area as a result of the Revolutionary War and their desire to keep living under the British Crown.

[3]Theron Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation: The Mennonite and Amish in 19th Century America.* (Scottsdale PA: Herald Press, 1988), 182.

[4]Schlabach, 185.

against the motion in Virginiaôs vote for secession in 1861. The few who voted for secession later said they had done so under duress.[5] The Civil War did focus the Mennonites on the issue of war, peace and non-resistance again. A new spate of writing on the subject emerged in the post-war years and whether to hire or pay substitutes was often debated. For the Mennonites, as in the Revolutionary War, the issue was whether paying for a substitute constitutes true exemption from military service and whether a true two-kingdom theology should challenge the nationalism of a democratic society.

When World War I broke out, the general feeling in the United States was that it was a European conflict and the United States would not get involved. When it did, and the army called for a draft, the Mennonites were unprepared. The passage of the National Defense Act on June 2, 1916 introduced a selective draft option in an obscure paragraph of the Bill. It was, in fact, so obscure that many in Congress did not even know of the option for a draft. On April 6, 1917 the United States entered the war. Immediately, the War Department asked Congress for a conscription bill. The Selective Training Act was signed into law on May 18, 1917 by President Wilson, and while it included a cursory exemption for those who had religions convictions against war, it was very vague and allowed the President to choose what type of noncombatant duty those exempted would serve. Secretary of War Newton Baker became convinced that exemptions in the form of substitution fees could not be offered, thus he observed to Wilson that ñso many kinds of people have asked for class exemptions that our only safety seems to be in making none.ò[6] The HPC was very concerned and each group seemed to have sent numbers of representatives to visit Baker and other officials. In all cases, Baker appeared sympathetic to

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[5] Schlabach, 190.
[6] Keim & Stoltzfus, 39.

to work out a solution. The problem was not the lack of effort on the part of the HPC; rather it is the haphazard and unorganized way in which they attempted to convey their concern. There was no central body that spoke for all of them. It also appears that Baker used the situation to skillfully maneuver around the appeals as he met the different HPC delegation.[7]

When the draft began, those who were designated conscientious objectors were forced into army mobilization camps and under military control. While the HPC continued to try to lobby the government for exemption, the men who were drafted were in tenuous positions. Some military officials saw their refusal to serve as rebellion and court-martialed them. In some cases, COs were physically abused as well. An extreme case of this is the account of two Hutterite (a communal form of Anabaptism) men who were sent to Alcatraz prison for their refusal to wear the uniform. They were returned to Fort Leavenworth, KS where they died of exposure. As a result of this, nearly the entire Hutterite community in the United States moved to Canada.[8] A number of conscientious objectors were sentenced to long-term prison time, but all were released shortly after the end of the war.[9]

World War I did several things for the Mennonite church. First and foremost it strengthened their two-kingdom theology. They were still a persecuted minority for their beliefs, even in a democratic society. It also persuaded many that in order to have any possibility of alternative service should there be another conflict, they must be willing to work with both the Quakers and

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[7]Keim and Stoltzfus, 40.

[8] Henry Smith and Harold Bender, eds., *The Mennonite Encylcopedia* (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955), 2:857.

[9]Of interest here is that the government has admitted to surveillance and intelligence gathering operations against the CO and churches. Allen Teichroew an archivist at the Library of Congress has written a revealing expose of this, ñMilitary Surveillance of Mennonites in World War Iò *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 53 (April 1979):95.

s experience, more than any other, led the search for an early solution when world war again loomed. Their experiences led directly to the formation of the Conferences of the HPC and subsequently to CPS as a viable option for alternative service. As World War II threatened, the experience of previous wars, particularly of World War I, pushed the HPC to develop infrastructure that led to a program that allowed them to live out their conscience: the program that became known as Civilian Public Service.

Development of CPS

CPS did not begin in a vacuum. Because of the HPCôs experience in the earlier conflicts, especially World War I, they were better prepared when the sounds of war began. As WW II threatened, the experience of the HPC in WW I pushed them to develop infrastructure to permit a program that would allow them to live out their consciences in regard to war and military service. This program (CPS) was developed with the consent of the United States Government through much interaction between the government and the HPC. The inter-war period also allowed organizations such as the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) to form and develop; these groups later became key players in CPS.

MCC was formed in 1919-1920 to help bring relief to Russian Mennonites suffering under the effect of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.[1] It was chartered in 1937 and took the lead in the formal relief and mission efforts of the Mennonite Church. MCC was made up of representatives of most of the North American Mennonite Church.[2] It operated through an executive committee which, in 1940, was composed of four men. The executive committee was led by Orie O. Miller, who was the executive secretary from 1935-1957.[3] The Mennonites also formed the Peace Problems Committee which was charged with developing a plan in the event of war and conscription. These two committees took the lead for the Mennonites, in the late 1930s, in calling for a plan in case of conscription. Their previous experience in World War I allowed them to see that if there was to be an alternative, they needed to put a plan in place early.

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[1] Paul Toews, *Mennonites in American Society, 1930-1970* (Scottsdale PA: Herald Press, 1996), 23.

[2] Henry Smith and Harold Bender, eds., *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955), 3:607. That is the more progressive wing of the church; the conservative element was and still is reticent about involvement. Generally it was the churches that would later join in forming Mennonite Church USA that most supported the MCC.

[3] Ibid, 606.

rmal meetings between the various members of the peace churches. The Quakers initiated the first formal meeting of the three churches, where they adopted the title The Historic Peace Churches, on October 31-November 2, 1935 in Newton, Kansas. It included representatives from MCC, Church of the Brethren, and the Friends (Quakers).[4] As a result of this meeting, the three denominations decided to form a committee with a member from each group to focus on efforts of peace. It was also in this meeting that the term alternative service was first used in planning for future conscription. In the section ñA Plan of Unified Action in Case the United States is Involved in Warò the three groups say, ñThat the churches should provide for conscientious objectors who become involved in the draft as follows: Furloughs from army and navy for alternative service of non-military nature and not under military control.ò[5] This use of ñalternative service,ò rather than noncombatant service shows that the HPC were making preparations rather than reacting to a draft. While the conference seems to have been popular in hindsight, many Mennonites were deeply skeptical of connecting themselves with the other Quakers and Brethren and, for that matter, even to much connection to other parts of their own denomination.[6]

The 1936 meeting of the HPC led by the three-man Continuation Committee further delineated what types of service would be consistent with their historical position on peace.[7] Interestingly, they decided that ñconstructive service under church or civilian direction, such as housing, road

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[4]*Secretary's Report of the Conference of Historic Peace Churches, October 31-November 2, 1935.* MC Archives.

[5]Ibid.

[6]This issue of connectedness plagued the Mennonites during their entire interaction with CPS. It was the largest question for them. It is still an issue for many of the men who were involved, but in most cases today they speak to the benefits of the issue.

[7]R.W. Balderston- Quaker, Ray Keim- Brethren, and Orie O. Miller-Mennonite served in this capacity. See *Conference of Historic Peace Churches, September 1936.* MC- Archives.

on, and recreational workò would be suitable. They also indicated that relief work ñin or outside of the war zoneò would be suitable, but only if under civilian or church direction. [8] What is unique about these statements is that they are almost identical to the form that CPS would eventually adopt. This position reveals that the previous negative experience in World War I were being used to form positive positions, and rather than reacting the HPC were preparing for the oncoming crisis. At this same meeting, the three groups also decided that they should present their position to the President and the governors of each state in which ñwe have members located.ò[9] They did so on February 12, 1937, when representatives met with President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Each of the three groups presented the President with a letter which they read to him. Each of the letters stated the churchôs view of war and military service. The Mennonites further attached a position paper with biblical references to substantiate their position.[10] This seems to have been an attempt by the HPC to set the stage to have a voice in case war broke out.

When Hitler invaded Poland in September, 1939, England and France declared war on Germany. From all signs, it appeared that the world was headed into another great war. The HPC had met earlier that year in March, at which time each group shared what they were doing to prepare for the event of war. They had also decided that the HPC ought ñto plan together, to work together and if necessary to suffer together.ò[11] This mutual cooperation is unprecedented for the Mennonites. Previously, they had expressed severe reservations about connecting at that level with other Christian groups and even with crossing boundaries within their own circles,

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[8] *Conference of Historic Peace Churches, September 1936.* MC- Archives.
[9] Ibid.
[10] *Letter to the President, Mennonite Central Committee, February 11, 1937.* MC-Archives.
[11] *Minutes of the Historic Peace Churches, March 10 and 11, 1939.* MC-Archives.

et, no one wanted a replay of the previous war, so they worked together.[12] This is indicative of what would happen on the individual level within CPS for the men and women involved. For many of these young men and women coming from isolated communities and church groups, this exposure to a broader world expanded their horizons exponentially.[13] While not all the Mennonite groups participated in these conferences, the major ones did, and it was these who took leadership for all Mennonites in the coming conflict.[14]

As America realized that it might eventually be drawn into the widening conflict, the HPC worked harder to arrive at a definitive understanding with the government. The HPC decided that the best course of action would be to devise a concrete plan and present it to the government. As historian and author Guy F. Hershberger understood it, ñif in any future war there is any provision for exemption from military service it will probably be due to the fact that the non-resistant people themselves devised the plan.ò[15] This understanding pushed the HPC into molding a plan and planning for the event of a draft. Accordingly, they decided to ask for an audience with President Roosevelt and present their plans. As 1939 drew to a close, they received an invitation to meet with the President on January 10, 1940 to present their case. As the representatives worked at designing a program that would be suitable for all the groups

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[12]Dorothy O. Pratt, *Shipshewana: an Indiana Amish Community* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 102.

[13]In the interviews conducted this is a recurring theme. Many of the men speak of realizing for the first time that the world, even the Christian world, was much larger than they realized. Many characterize the fraternization that occurred as good and broadening.

[14]There are many varieties in Mennonitism. For the sake of brevity when the term Mennonite is used in this work it assumes the broad spectrum of groups ranging from Amish to General Conference Mennonites. The more proper term would be Anabaptist but most historians choose to use the term Mennonite for this era. The largest of the groups in World War II Anabaptism was the Mennonite Church (Old Mennonites) and then the General Conference. These two groups merged with a number of smaller conferences in 2002 to form the Mennonite Church USA

[15]Qtd. in Keim and Stoltzfus, *The Politics of Conscience* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2000), 68.

There were a number of Quakers who held the Absolutist position and felt uncomfortable with any form of alternative service.[17] In a flurry of negotiations, particularly by Mennonite leader, H. S. Bender, a compromise was reached in the last few days before the scheduled meeting with the President. The compromise included a statement that, while the HPC was comfortable with alternative service, it did ñcommend to the thought of the proper government officialsò those whose conscience would not allow for any participation.[18]

When the meeting took place with Roosevelt, the Continuation Committee reported back to their constituency that it seemed profitable. Roosevelt was affable and charming and seemed intrigued with the idea. Ultimately, however, the meeting seems to have had little substantial value. Albert Keim and Grant Stoltzfus, who have researched and written extensively on CPS, say that the churchmen overestimated the significance of this visit.[19] This does seem to be the case, although one could argue that even the awareness of the government to the HPCôs concerns and plans for alternative service were positive. It does seem as though the meeting brought a new awareness to the uneasy truce that existed within the HPC between the Absolutist position (especially among the Friends) and the mainline view of alternative service. It appears as though the Mennonites, Brethren and some of the Friends felt that at the very least the HPC owed some form of service to their country.

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[16]The Continuation Committee, by this time expanded to seven men, composed of two Quakers, two Brethren and three Mennonites represented the HPC in these negotiations.

[17]An Absolutist in this case is one whose conscience does not allow them to participate in any form alternative service or any part of the draft, including registration. See Keim and Stoltzfus, p. 76 for more.

[18]*A Memorandum Regarding a Plan of Procedure For Providing Alternative Service for Conscientious Objectors in Case of Military Conscription*, MC-Archives.

[19] Ibid, 77.

President and later to the Attorney General and War Department outlined three major ideas. First, a civilian board should be appointed by the President to judge the sincerity of the CO. Second, local draft boards should route the CO directly to this board so that at no time would they be under military control. The last part of the memo asks for the privilege of the HPC to set up and administer service projects which could offer work.[20] The letter asks the government to consider that in World War I there had been much ñconfusion and distressé because of the lack of any established policyò for the CO.[21] This action seems to be the first concrete plan put forward to avoid a replay of the disaster of the World War I for the HPC. While CPS ended up different than this initial plan, it does set the tone for more conversation about the future of the COôs status.

On June 20, 1940 the Selective Service and Training Bill (Burkes-Wadsworth) was introduced to Congress asking for military conscription. It was patterned after the Selective Service laws of World War I and offered no exemptions except for noncombatant service. This was not acceptable to the HPC and they began to lobby for alternative service. Throughout the summer of 1940, the Friends took the lead in this effort. The critical issue for the HPC and other conscientious objectors was two-fold: first, whether one needed to be an established member of a religious group which had a history of pacifism and non-resistance, and second, and more important to the Mennonites, the inclusion of alternative rather than noncombatant duty.[22] For most of the Church this was an important distinction because it allowed their men to serve

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[20] *Memorandum* see also Melvin Gingerich, *Service for Peace* (Akron PA: Mennonite Central Committee, 1949), 45-46.

[21] *Letter to the President, January 10, 1940*. MC- Archives.

[22] There was much discussion and hearings on this issue. Many groups were concerned including Dorothy Day and the Catholic Workers movement, Abraham Kaufman from the War Resistors League and the HPC.

past, and especially in World War I, noncombatant duty had been problematic because it required the men to be under direct Army control.

Through the lobbying of Paul Comely French and Harold Evans (both Friends) and Orie O. Miller and Amos S. Horst (Mennonites), the final version of the bill, which passed Congress on September 14, was more agreeable to the HPC and CO. It included exemptions to cover not only members of the HPC, but also anyone who was conscientiously opposed to military service. It also stated that the CO in ñlieu of such induction, be assigned to work of national importance under civilian directionò which answered the second concern.[23] This was vastly superior to the draft laws in World War I and seems to be a victory for the efforts of HPC. When Roosevelt signed the law into effect two days later, on September 16, 1940, the HPC had set the machinery into motion so that CPS, although yet unnamed, could become a reality.

With the law for the draft in place, the HPC turned their attention to organizing a program that would be suitable for their men. On October 2, 1940 Paul C. French, who would lead the efforts at organization for the HPC, was told by Lt. Colonel Lewis Hershey (later to be director of the Selective Service) to submit plans for exactly what the HPC had in mind in relation to alternative service.[24] He also asked whether he would have to deal with many individuals representing the different groups or whether French spoke for all of them. It seemed unclear to the Selective Service who spoke for which group, so they asked the HPC to form a single office to interact with Selective Service on issues related to alternative service. The HPC did so on October 11, 1940, with several members from each group represented on this board. This organization was initially named the National Council for Religious Conscientious Objectors, but soon changed to

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[23]Steven J. Taylor, *Acts of Conscience* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 14-15.
[24]Ibid., 16.

s Objectors (NSBRO). Paul C. French was the director from its formation until 1946, when the Friends withdrew from the board.[25]

On October 15, 1940 Dr. Clarence Dykstra was named the director of the Selective Service. The next day was the first registration for men aged 18-35. The HPC told their men to register and then wait on word from NSBRO until a plan was in place. At the same time NSBRO was actively working with Lt. Col. Hershey and other Selective Service personnel to come up with an option that was suitable to all involved. It appears as though the HPC were ahead of the government when it came to planning. Hershey told representatives of NSBRO to ñget your groups together and draw ups some proposals. No one in the government has given much thought to the problem.ò[26] Again this may have been a result of the HPC previous experience, and the fact that they were quite concerned that there was no plan in place for alternative service. When NSBRO presented their first plan to Dykstra and Hershey, they seemed favorable and passed it on to the President. He, however, expressed ñinstant and aggressive opposition to the plan.ò[27] In all likelihood, this was because a central part of this plan was government funding which Dykstra had indicated would be possible. It appears as though Roosevelt was hesitant to ask for appropriations because it might appear too strongly supportive of the conscientious objectors and also that it would mix church agencies and government funding too closely.

On December 5, Dysktra and Hershey met with NSBRO in what would be one of the most crucial meetings in the life of CPS. Dykstra asked whether the churches would be willing to ñadminister all projects for the conscientious objectors and pay the entire cost except for

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[25]Gingerich, 55.
[26]Keim and Stoltzfus, 107.
[27]Gingerich, 57.

ıma to the HPC. Were they willing to pay the price for a program that gave them what they wanted? Dykstra advised the NSBRO that he could ask for appropriations, but that would mean complete government control and administration of projects with limited involvement from the HPC. In addition, it was unlikely that either Congress or the President would approve payment to the COs for their work.[29] The awareness of assuming all financial responsibility for alternative service was suddenly front and central. Orie O. Miller, one of the Mennonite representatives to NSBRO, spoke for the Mennonite position when he said that Mennonites ñwould gladly pay their share of the bill. They would do it even though every Mennonite farmer had to mortgage his farm.ò [30] The decision to shoulder financial responsibility by NSBRO, and by extension all the HPC, was politically savvy and gave them maximum autonomy. It was also a positive move for the Selective Service; no one could accuse them of being ñsoftò on this issue. This was a rash decision for the normally cautious Mennonites, where making decisions could take months, but after the problems in the World War I draft it appears as though they were ready to do all things possible to avoid having their men under direct military control.

On December 19, Selective Service director Dykstra, along with the Secretaries of War, Agriculture, and Interior informally agreed upon a plan and presented a memo to the President that dealt with the COs. First they stated that in World War I the ñconscientious objectors presented difficulties to both the armed forces and law enforcement far out of proportion to the numbers involved.ò They then presented a five point plan subject to the presidentôs approval:

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[28]Qtd in Gingerich, 57.
[29]Taylor, 19.
[30]Albert Keim, *The CPS Story: an Illustrated History of Civilian Public Service* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1990), 28.

furnish or loan cots, bedding, and other items of camp equipment as feasible and necessary.

2. The Department of Agriculture and Interior would provide technical supervision for soil conservation and similar projects, as well as tools and equipment to the extent practicable.

3. The Federal Security Agency would cooperate and, if possible, make abandoned C.C.C. camps available.
4. The Selective Service would furnish general administrative and policy supervision, inspections, and pay for the menôs transportation costs to the camps.

5. NSBRO and HPC ñhas agreed for a temporary period to undertake the task of financing and furnishing all other necessary parts of the program, including actual day-to-day supervision and control of the camps (under such rules and regulations and administrative supervision as laid down by Selective Service), to supply subsistence, necessary buildings, hospital care, and generally all things necessary for the care and maintenance of the men.ò

The memo also states that if the HPC could not meet the ñconsiderable financial outlayò or if any difficulty arose in the program the government had the right at any time to modify or take over the program.[31] This memo was presented to the President and given to NSBRO for their review. In late December NSBRO met again and decided ñafter considerable discussion that this program might be called Civilian Public Serviceò a name which later Selective Service officially recognized.[32]

The President agreed and signed Executive Order 8675 on February 6, 1941 ñAuthorizing the Director of Selective Service to Establish or Designate Work of National Importance under Civilian Direction for Persons Conscientiously Opposed to Combatant or Noncombatant Service in the Land or Naval Forces of the United States.ò [33] For the next nearly seven years the HPC would work with the government in a strange partnership. For many in the HPC this partnership

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[31] *Memorandum to the President, C.A. Dykstra*, MC-Archives. See also Taylor, 20-21.
[32] Gingerich, 65.
[33] Reprinted in Taylor, 21.

ed and performing government functions? Were the church agencies autonomous or agents of the Selective Service?[34] Was this like the substitution fees of earlier conflicts? These, along with many other questions, surfaced. For the Selective Service, and particularly General Lewis Hershey, who had been promoted and named director to replace Clarence Dyskstra in May of 1941, this partnership was seen as an experiment in democracy. He once called CPS an ñexperiment in democracyð an experiment such as no one nation has ever made before . . . to find out whether our democracy is big enough to preserve minority rights in a time of national emergency.ò[35]

Two months after signing Executive Order 8175, on April 11, 1941, Roosevelt authorized the establishment and designation of the work of national importance for COs. Thus almost seven months elapsed between the passage of the Selective Service Act and the final clarification on work of national importance for the HPC.[36] These seven months represent many hours of planning and interaction between the representatives of the HPC and the government. This period also represents a time of fear among the young men who were of draft age. The plan would assign these men to soil conservation and forestry work. But where and what would it be like? Who would be in charge? While the plan called for this to be a six-month experiment, it ended up being extended until six months after hostilities ended, and the last men would not be released until 1947. The long efforts of the HPC paid off. In an uneasy alliance with Selective Service they developed CPS, which allowed them an alternative to military service.

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[34]See Paul Toews, *Mennonites in American Society* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1996), 137-139 for more. This issue also arose on the individual level in the interviews in preparation for this work. Many of the men wrestled with the level of involvement.

[35]Qtd. in George Q. Flynn, ñLewish Hershey and the Conscientious Objector: the World War II Experience.ò *Military Affairs* 47 (February 1983): 2.

[36]Gingerich, 52.

Camp Organization

When the first men were registered in October 1940, after the passage of the Selective Service Act, the HPC told their young men to indicate that they were conscientiously opposed to the war. They would then answer to a local board in a personal hearing to have their sincerity judged. The local board would then give their names to the Selective Service and NSBRO after which they would be placed into a camp by the assignation section of NSBRO (see appendix B).[1] Because of the seven months of planning between the passage of the conscription law and the actual instituting of CPS, the first men did not report to camps until May, 1941. The first draftees arrived at a Quaker organized camp on May 15, 1941 near Baltimore, MD. Eight Mennonite and Brethren men arrived seven days later at Grottoes, VA, site of the first Mennonite organized camp[2]. As CPS began, the organization of the camp was dictated not only by the HPC, but also by camp location, interaction with government and the chain of command.

While the HPC seems to have won a victory with the organization of CPS, the complex relationship of the government with the churches soon led to questions of authority. Initially it appears as though HPC assumed that NSBRO would be the main agent for administrating the program. But when General Hershey established the Camp Operations Division, and appointed his old friend Colonel Lewis B. Kosch to be chief, it became apparent that Selective Service felt that it was in charge. This tenuous and complex overlapping of public and private agencies is best described by Paul C. French, director of NSBRO, who described it as a house occupied by three renters (the three HPC), who each wanted complete privacy. The Landlord (Selective

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[1] *Report of Meeting of Representative of Historical Peace Churches, Chicago IL, Oct 4-5, 1940.* MC-Archives.

[2] Melvin Gingerich, *Service for Peace* (Akron PA: Mennonite Central Committee, 1949), 74.

ouse and reorganize or take control of it at anytime. Both the tenants and the landlord had agreed that a third party (NSBRO) would actually oversee and run the house. The problem became that tenants would go directly to the landlord, and often the landlord would make changes without consulting the agent.[3] This seems to be a fair description of the issue of authority (see Appendix C).[4]

Kosch and Hershey assumed that the Selective Service, not the churches or their agencies would be in charge of the program. In a visit to a Quaker-run camp in 1941, Kosch told Tom Jones, the first director of Friends Civilian Public Service, after Jones had spoken about what he hoped could be accomplished by CPS, ñWho do you think you are? Donôt you know I am in charge of these camps under Selective Service?ò Jones answered that he thought the HPC had autonomy with the program. Koschôs reply is telling about how Selective Service thought about CPS, ñMy dear man, the draft is under the United States government operation. Conscientious objectors are draftees just as soldiers are. Their activities are responsible to the government. The peace churches are only camp managers.ò[5] This exchange epitomizes the relationship between the parties very well, and this question of authority would plague the program for the duration. In late 1942, Koschôs deputy Lt. Col. Franklin McLean also addressed this when he wrote a report to ñRemove certain misunderstandings.ò He went on to say:

> From the time an assignee reports to the camp until he is finally released he is under the control of the Director of Selective Service. He ceases to be a free agent and accountable for all his time, in camp and out, twenty-four hours a day. His movements, actions, and conduct are subject to control and regulation. He ceases to have certain rights and is granted privileges instead. These privileges can be restricted or withdrawn without his

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[3]Albert Keim, ñMennonites and Government, USA,ò *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (October 1992): 511.

[4] Perhaps this is so because there were times when one of the churches in the HPC carried a concern to Selective Service that was not shared with the other churches. It appears that French is speaking primarily about MCC and not his own group, the Friends. For more see Gingerich, 72 who writes from the MCC perspective.

[5]Qtd. in Keim and Stoltzfus, , *The Politics of Conscience* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2000) 119.

> ent, during emergencies or as a matter of policy. He may be told when and how to work, what to wear, and where to sleep. He can be required to submit to medical examinations and treatments and to practice rules of health and sanitation. He may be moved from place to place and from job to job, even to foreign countries, for the convenience of the government regardless of his personal feelings or desires.[6]

These ñcertain misunderstandingsò were clearly related to who was in charge, and Selective Service made it clear that while the churches had some autonomy in directing the men, ultimately CPS was in their control.

In World War II, 10,110, 104 men were drafted through the Selective Service from November 1940 to October 1946.[7] Of these about 37,000 were exempted from either combatant duty or military service. Roughly 25,000 choose non-combatant duty within the military apparatus. Nearly 12,000 were designated ñIV-Eò which assigned them to Civilian Public Service.[8] There were an additional 6,086 men who refused service of any kind, the majority of whom were Jehovahôs Witnesses. Most of these were imprisoned for the duration of the war.[9] Of the nearly 12,000 COs or ñconchiesò as they were sometimes called, the largest percentage belonged to the Mennonites, 4,665 or 38 percent (See Appendix A).

Camps for CPS were initially located in abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps. Many of the CCC camps had been involved in soil conservation work or forestry which made it a good fit for the CPS men. Gen. Hershey had made a decision that the COs should be kept out of the public scrutiny as much as possible. Hershey argued that the men should be put in remote

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[6] ñStatement of Policy, Camp Operations Division of the Selective Serviceò 1942, reprinted in Taylor, 52-53.

[7] ñInduction Statisticsò *Selective Service Website*, Available at www.sss.gov/induct.htm. accessed 10 March, 2010.

[8] It is interesting to note that the NSBRO and Selective Service arrive at different figures on the number of men who served, 11,996 (NSBRO) and 11,500 (Selective Service). It is unknown why there is this discrepancies. Most historians accept the NSBRO number.

[9] Keim, *The CPS Story*, 4.

my theory, is best handled if no one hears about him.ò[10] This is likely a move so that confrontations between the public and the ñconchiesò could be avoided as much as possible.

As the program grew and camps were added, each one was assigned a number and one of the HPC would be chosen to administer the camp.[11] By the end of the war, there were 151 different camps that had been used by CPS. The Mennonites, with the largest number of men in the program, administrated about sixty camps, with the Brethren and Quakers having approximately thirty each.[12] While the camps were known as Quaker, Mennonite or Brethren camps, for the organizing and operating church, they were by no means segregated (see Appendix B). In most cases the NSBRO tried to send men to camps run by their churches, while at the same time being sensitive to labor and manpower issues at all the camps. Therefore the men crossed denominational barriers and Mennonite men served in both Brethren and Quaker camps and in return Mennonite camps had men from many different churches.

Each camp had a director, chosen by the HPC member who was responsible for that camp, to manage the camp and supervise the men when not at work. The Mennonites initially attempted to use only ordained pastors in this role so they could function as camp pastors as well. They soon realized that they did not have enough ordained men, so they quickly moved to lay leaders, and tried to provide pastoral ministries in other ways.[13] Each camp also had a project supervisor or supervisors chosen by the government who supervised the actual work project. The

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[10]Keim and Stoltfus, 118.

[11]The MCC, AFSC, and the Brethren Service Committee (BSC) were the agents of churches in administration of the camps.

[12]Mitchell L. Robinson, ñThe U. S. Civilian Public Service,ò in *Challenge to Mars: Essays on Pacifism from 1918 to 1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 314.

[13]*General Conference Report, Goshen IN, August 18-24, 1943*. MC-Archives.

call for the manpower needed for the various parts of the project. In most cases, the interaction between the camp leadership and the project supervisor seems to have been amiable, but with a clear understanding that the ñgovernment manò was in ultimate control because he worked for Selective Service.[14] In some cases, such as MCC-operated Camp 28, in Medaryville IN, the project director was a local retired banker, Albert Egly, who had volunteered for the job.[15] Because of the manpower shortages in the United States this type of volunteerism was often the case.

The daily routine of each camp essentially followed the model of any Army camp. In most camps the men worked from 7:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., six days per week. They were given furlough at the same rate as any military personnel, with most receiving one weekend per month.[16] Each camp had an educational director, business manager, dietician (often the camp directorôs wife), and nurse.[17] The educational director was responsible for any training and educational pursuits in the camp. Each camp offered classes in such things as woodworking, leathercraft, and first aid. Most offered Bible courses with a heavy emphasis on peace theology. Most camps had a library and a small newsletter or publication that was published weekly or bi-

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[14]Paul Neunschswander, Personal interview by the author, Smithville, OH: 19 Feb. 2009.

[15]In an interview of a CPS man, Paul Neunschwander tells of weeding a seedling bed of small trees. Apparently not working fast enough to suit the ñgovernment manò he was told if he does not pick up the pace he will be sent to the front. This does not seem to reflect the general nature of the interaction but the awareness of that eventuality was there for most of the men interviewed for this project.

[16]*The Sandpaper*, August 31, 1945. 2. Available MC-Archives. This was the publication that was printed at Camp #52 in Powellsville, MD. It maps out the furlough expectations and indicates that it is the Selective Service and not the camp director, who set these rules.

[17]For more on this see Norita Yoder, *Women Conscientious Objectors*, Unpublished Paper OSU-Newark, 2010. This ongoing project of looking at the womenôs role in CPS and their sacrifice is worthy of its own space. See also Rachel Waltner Goosen, ñThe óSecond Sexô and the óSecond Milersô: Mennonite Women and Civilian Public Service. Mennonite Quarterly Review 66 (October 1992).

men an article or two on current events, often short pithy sayings or poetry, and individual items about happenings that week. They also often included new men and discharges. These have become a valuable asset for historians in gaining insights into happenings at individual camps.

Each campôs business manager was responsible for the financial accounting for the camp. Generally each man received a small stipend from the church group with whom he was affiliated. This ñCampers Monthly Allowanceò was initially $2.50 per man, per month! It was later doubled to $5.00 per month.[19] This money was directed from the various churches through MCC to the individual camps and men. This was in a time when German and Italian prisoners of war received up to eighty cents per day from the government for their work which was roughly based on the $21.00 per day and Army private received in 1941.[20] Although Congress had authorized payment for the CPS men not to exceed army pay, Selective Service refused to request the allocations from Congress. Selective Service officials felt that nonpayment would inhibit men who were not truly conscientiously opposed from applying.[21]

The business managers were also responsible to account for the equipment that was received from the various government agencies. Losses through damage and theft had to be accounted for. In a meeting between HPC representatives, NSBRO, camp directors, and the Selective Service

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[18]MCC operated camps have their newsletters archived at Goshen College in Goshen, IN at the the MC archives. Quaker camps have theirs at Swarthmore University. Bethel College in KS also houses some of the newsletters.

[19]Luke Rhodes, interview by author, Savannah, OH: 3 March 2009. I am deeply grateful to Mr. Rhodes who served in CPS from April 1, 1945 to October 26, 1946. He willingly shared his personal papers and pictures so that a clearer picture of CPS could emerge. Included in these papers which are now at the Archives at the Center for Anabaptist History, Martinsburg OH, are pay chits, induction and release records, ID cards and many photos and letters.

[20] Lt. Col. George C. Lewis and Capt. John Mewha, ñHistory of Prisoner of War Utilization by the United States Army 1776-1945,ò Department of Army Pamphlet 20-213. Washington DC: Department of Army, 1955.

[21]Taylor, 58.

of equipment losses was raised. Col. Kosch, representing the Selective Service, told camp directors that no equipment issued to the camps could be destroyed, even if worn out, without the permission of a government official.[22] This interaction is typical of the kind of issues that arose in the operations. Kosch and his assistant, Major Franklin McLean, were in charge of the Camp Operations Section, and often interacted with either NSBRO or camp leadership about issues related to finances.

The HPC also faced a financial quandary as the program continued. In the same CPS conference noted above, in a question-and-answer session with General Hershey, who appeared at the conference for the last day, the issue of continuing funding arose. The minutes of the meeting record the following from Gen. Hershey:

> General Hershey stressed the fact that the principal argument he used with the public was based on the fact that the concerned religious groups were footing the bill. He declared that he had faith in the whole program and its leadership and stated his belief that we should be quite sure in which direction we were moving before we destroyed the present pattern. He said he was convinced that it would be easier for the program to succeed if the religious groups were willing and able to continue the financing of the Civilian Public Service because such an attitude of unselfish service is extremely unusual today.[23]

This subtle (or not so subtle) pressure to keep the initial arrangement would continue in nearly every major interaction of General Hershey and the HPC on the issues of funding. The three members of the HPC established a quota system to charge each member of each of their respective churches with a fee for the maintenance and upkeep for the men. This covered their allowance and costs incurred, such as food, that the HPC provided. In all the HPC contributed $7,202,000 for their support.[24] For the Mennonites, this ended up being around fifty cents per

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[22] *Report of the Proceedings of the Civilian Public Service Conference held at Winona Lake, Indiana;* September 1-3, 1941. National Service Board for Religious Objectors. Available from MC-Archives. Goshen IN.

[23] *Report of Proceedings.*

[24] Keim, *CPS Story*, 40

tion of the program. There was also much food donated to lower the costs. Also interesting is the interaction with the home community or the Mennonite community closest to the camp, which often helped in practical ways. In Camp 52 at Powellsville MD, one of the neighboring Mennonite churchôs sewing circle offered to darn any socks that needed to be repaired for the men.[25]

In total, the nearly 12,000 CPS men logged over eight million man-days of work. Had the government paid for this work at Army rates provided by the law, it would have cost the United States over twenty-two million dollars. The actual bill through the Selective Service was $4,731,000 for administrative costs in running the program. This figure also includes the transportation offered to the men in going to and returning home from the camps.[26]

The men of CPS did an amazing and varied amount of work that benefited America a great deal. They did all of this without being reimbursed for it. For many of the men, this era represented a significant portion of their lives. When the program began, no one knew exactly what shape the CPS would take; camp locations, interaction with the Selective Service and the types of work done would change the men and women who participated. Men and women were forced from their small, often isolated communities, where many had been engaged in agriculture and had little contact with the broader world. One participant, Paul Neunschwander, like many of the men, had never traveled by bus or train and so they launched into a world that many of them had only heard about. He said, ñI was scared but excited, I had never been away

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[25]This happened numerous times and in many locations, this particular account was announced in the camp newsletter, *The Sandpaper*. In many cases the local Mennonite communities would interact in any way they could to ease the load for the men.

[26]Keim., 40

quirement the men had to serve at least 100 miles from their home. In many cases these men had not traveled prior to CPS. In the interviews done for this work this theme emerged with most of the men interviewed. They suddenly realized that the world was much larger than their home communities. This is primarily true of the Mennonites and Amish who served, less so of the Quakers, many of whom were urban and or college educated. It also changed the HPC a great deal: for the first time they were interacting on a working level with the other church groups, which had not been the case of the Mennonites in the past, although they made it quite clear that this interaction should not be construed as agreement with the other groups on ñpoints of social or religious philosophy or administrative policy.ò[28] Throughout the war and their involvement in CPS, this issue was always a concern. In nearly every conference report, the minutes record discussion of this matter. The HPC also for the first time interacted and worked closely with the government. Though this was a tenuous relationship, they were able to work together so that the program could go forward.

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[27]Paul Neuenchwander Interview.
[28]MCC policy Statement, Qtd. in Taylor, 48.

The Work of CPS

The goal of CPS was to engage the men in work ñof national importance.ò Yet, what that work was, was not clearly defined initially. The HPC intended that this would be relief work, possibly even overseas in war-ravaged areas. It soon became clear that the Selective Service thought otherwise. They thought the work would be in ñout of the way placesò and not open to public scrutiny. The first camps were former CCC camps that had focused on soil conservation, which allowed the first CPS men to focus on that as well. As the program grew it expanded into four major areas, namely soil conservation, forestry, agriculture, and medical units. Each camp had its own unique work and focus (see Appendix B). While it is impossible to cover the work of each camp in detail in a work of this size, a representative camp or camps will be examined for each of the major areas. Much of the work that CPS was engaged in was of ñnational importanceò and of long lasting impact; but while working at an immense variety of projects focused on the four major areas, there were other options available to the CPS men and many volunteered for detached or special service within CPS. This option became increasingly popular as the program grew. These were essentially assignments or projects that needed manpower but where a camp was not feasible. It included such projects as hookworm eradication in Florida, service as ñguinea pigsò for medical experiments, and firefighting including ñsmoke-jumpingò units.[1] As the war continued the growing manpower shortages in hospitals and other social welfare institutions led many CPS men to this type of service as well.

[1] Albert N. Keim and Grant M. Stoltzfus, *The Politics of Conscience* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2000), 121.

wanted to include overseas relief work. Many of the men hoped to be permitted to work in bringing aid and reconstruction efforts to war-torn areas of the world. MCC began a program of intense relief training in 1943 at Goshen College. They covered areas such as hygiene, nutrition, and leadership training with the assumption that they would be permitted and perhaps even encouraged to go overseas in relief efforts. The idea of conscientious objectors taking their doctrine into the world did not sit well with veteransô groups and many members of Congress. In June of 1943 Congress attached the Starnes Amendment to a military appropriations bill which forbade Selective Service to give any monies ñeither for relief training or to send CPS men overseas.ò[2] This effectively ended any thoughts of CPS engaging in any form of overseas relief efforts until after the war ended.[3]

While much of the work of CPS could be construed as important to the men involved, there was also an element who felt that the work fell far short of being ñwork of national importance.ò This is particularly true of the AFSC and BSC-run camps. Even within the Mennonite camps, which historian Perry Bush says were ñless contentious and more satisfied,ò this became an issue. A survey of 634 Mennonite men involved in CPS found that 71 percent thought that the work they did was significant.[4] As more and more men entered the system and special or

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[2]Paul Toews, *Mennonites in American Society, 1930-1970* (Scottsdale PA: Herald Press, 1996), 164.

[3]MCC however did engage in a tremendous amount of relief effort apart from CPS, beginning in England and then moving to Germany and Holland. Peter and Elfreida Dyck were the MCC representative in the war years. See Peter and Elfrieda Dyck, *Up from The Rubble* (Scottsdale PA: Herald Press, 1991). One month after the surrender of Germany in May of 1945, the Dycks began relief efforts in Germany. There is an amusing anecdote in Dyckôs book where the Dutch Red Cross director asks whether half the North Americans are indeed Mennonite! This is because the Mennonites sent nearly half the goods into post-war Holland. This is reflective of the high level of mutual aid and support that the North American Mennonites showed in the post-war relief efforts.

[4]Perry Bush, *Two Kingdoms, Two Loyalties: Mennonite Pacifism in Modern America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998),107. This quote from Bush is in relation to the relationship of the various elements of HPC and their relationship with the government. Bush and Steven J. Taylor, *Acts of Conscience* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 104. both argue that the Mennonites were generally not as

his became less of an issue. Paul Neuenschwander recalls planting thousands of trees in a soil conservation camp in Medaryville, IN. In the evenings the discussion among the campers would often be about how this kind of work could be construed as of ñnational importance.ò A standing joke for the men at this camp was that they ñplanted trees of national importance today.ò[5] This often had a demoralizing effect on the men, and many of the camp newsletters and publications speak to the issue of morale. Even camp administrators were not immune to this, Esko Loewen, a camp director, remembered ñfeeling real anguish that he was on the shelf, and here the last cataclysm was occurring and you were off digging postholes.ò[6]

Selective Service kept close records of the work that the men did in Works Progress Reports. They record man days for projects such as the following: CPS men spent 4,312 man days moving 1,104,650 trees, and that the COs had contributed 1,213,000 man-days in Mennonite-run Forest Service camps and 1,112,000 in nineteen Soil Conservation camps.[7] It also required each camp to keep detailed records of the men and the work that the men did. Included in the quota of men was something they called ñoverhead.ò This was the term used by the camps for the men needed to keep the camps operating smoothly. This included administrative assistants, laundry

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resistant to Selective Service authority and more willing to cooperate with them in CPS than were either the Friends or the Brethren.

[5]Paul Neunschwander interview.

[6]Qtd in Bush, 107.

[7]Melvin Gingerich, *Service for Peace* (Akron PA: MCC1949), 453-454 and Taylor 56. Gingerichôs *Service for Peace* was published in 1949 and while dated, includes a great deal of valuable information on individual camps. He focuses, as does this work, on the Mennonites.

included special duty work like cutting wood for heating the camp, repairing sewer mains, etc.[8]

Soil conservation was initially the largest part of what the CPS men did. About 68 percent of the CPS men were engaged in this work at one time or another. Soil conservation had been the primary work of CCC, and it was natural for those locations that had been CCC camps to carry on this work. It included erosion control, drainage, and many other related kinds of work. Col. Kosch, at the 1941 CPS Conference, told the audience that after his visit to various camps, ñtwo or three times as much work was being done on the work projects as had previously been done by a comparable number of Civilian Conservation Corps men.ò[9] At this conference there is very little mention of any other kinds of work being done. This indicates that at least initially the focus was on soil conservation. By August 1942, it is estimated that of the 1,725 Mennonite men in CPS 1,147 were in some form of soil conservation work. Most of this work was directed by the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture (SCS).[10] SCS supplied the oversight and technical advisors, and CPS supplied the manpower. It was felt that because the majority of Mennonites were rural people they were interested in agriculture and soil conservation, and their men would be best suited to work on the land.[11]

Camp 52, in Powellsville, Maryland, is a good example of this kind of work. Located on the eastern shore of Maryland, it was a river straightening and drainage project. The Pocomoke River Project, as the job was named, was initially begun by the Quaker CPS men. The camp

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[8]Luke Rhodes interview, Mr. Rhodes indicated that he was on ñoverheadò for most of his time at camp, because he worked in the camp laundry. See also *Report of the proceedings of the Civilian Public Service Conference held at Winona Lake, Ind. September 1-3, 1941.* MC Archives.

[9] *Report of the proceedings of the Civilian Public Service Conference held at Winona Lake, Ind. September 1-3, 1941.* MC Archives

[10]Gingerich, 108.

[11]Ibid.

camp was turned over to MCC because it was felt that it was better suited to their men. The project focused on straightening seventeen miles of the Pokomoke River into fourteen miles, and digging drainage ditches to assist farmland drainage. The men worked in the swamp wading in water for days clearing a swathe of trees so that a dragline could then straighten the river course. One CO remembers that ñWhen the water got all the way to our knees it was officially pronounced too deep to work in.ò He also remembers ñthat we should have gotten more work done, as this was work somewhat like most of us were used to doing at home.ò[12] This self-deprecatory approach does not take into account the immense amount of labor that went into the project. Most of the tree and brush clearing was done by hand, and even some of the drainage ditches were dug by hand.[13] The dragline was run by a government employee and the dynamiting of stumps was also controlled by SCS employees.[14]

The drainage efforts reached the Delaware state line in September, 1946. A celebration was planned with state officials, including the governor and senator of Maryland, SCS officials, and over 2,000 local citizens. The Salisbury, MD newspaper, *The Salisbury Times* featured the completion of the work with a large article. The article states that the drainage project moved 1,400,000 cubic yards of dirt and straightened and shortened the river from seventeen to fourteen miles. The men also cleared 321 acres of brush and trees in preparation for the digging, most of which was cleared by hand.[15] It also states that 81,000 acres of farmland were either reclaimed

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[12]Neal Miller in Mose A. Schlabach and John A. Erb eds. *Memories of CPS Camp Days, Volume I.* (Sugercreek OH: Carlisle Press, 1996), 45.

[13]Luke Rhodes. Interview.

[14]Miller, 46.

[15]The Luke Rhodes collection includes pictures of the project, the men cleared the brush and trees with axes and handsaws, because the better equipment was being used for the war effort.

pamphlet published by the regional office of the SCS in preparation for the celebration lauds the hard work of the ñfar-sighted leadersò who pushed for this work. It maps out the project and gives the statistics as given in the news article.[17] What is fascinating about these two publications is that there is almost no mention of the men who actually did the work. In the newspaper article there is no mention, and in the special publication there is one mention at the end where it indicated that one dragline was funded by the ñfederal government through CCC and CPS.ò There is also mention of the camp director Mennonite, S. Glenn Esh. He is listed as camp director under the Selective Service with no indication of his affiliation with CPS or MCC. This seems to reflect the desire of Hershey that the camps be out of sight and therefore, out of mind, to most Americans. While this may have ñprotectedò the camps and the COs, it does make it difficult to gather historical data because of how little public awareness there was of the program.

Soil conservation was an important part of the work that CPS did; many Mennonite men became much more conscious of the rich resources in the soils. Without a doubt, many of these same men would go home and change their practices in farming and soil use because of this experience.

Agriculture was another area where many Mennonites served, especially later in the program when detached duty became more popular. Because America faced food shortages, it was considered work of national importance. MCC base camps contributed 89,000 man-days in

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[16] *Salisbury Times*, Salisbury, MD: Friday September 25, 1946. Clipping available from Luke Rhodes collection at the archives of the Center for Anabaptist History, Martinsburg OH.

[17] *Pokomoke Drainage Project*, Regional office of the Soil Conservation Service, available from Luke Rhodes collection at the archives of the Center for Anabaptist History, Martinsburg OH.

fifteen mile radius of the camps.[18] This kind of labor often happened at busy times such as harvest when farmers needed extra hands. Camps in Colorado, after setting up large irrigations projects, raised large quantities of sugar beets. CPS also engaged in helping develop agriculture and farms. Under the technical direction of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) it worked to develop irrigation and farms in eastern Montana at Camp Terry (Camp 64) in Terry, Montana.

This project was known as the Buffalo Rapids Reclamation Project.[19] Rather than being a drainage project as was Camp 52, this was a project to bring water to the land. It developed a series of irrigation canals with small operating dams and pumping stations.[20] One of the men at this camp wrote to his family, back home in Ohio, about the work they were engaged in. He tells them about the surveying crew he was a part of, then follows by saying ñWeôll probably also have a considerable bit of farm work to do. There are quite a few farms here that will have to be farmed. If no one can be found to move on them the boys will farm them in which case they will raise largely truck crops.ò[21] In another letter soon after arriving in Camp Terry he describes what the intentions were of the camp, ñwe have 10,000 acres to get ready for farmingé . It will be divided into 120 acre farms.ò In essence the men surveyed the land into 120 acre farms then built a barn, chicken coop, and house. After making sure the irrigation would provide water, the government, through local cooperatives, would make these farms available to farmers who had lost their land during the drought of the 1930s.[22] Camp Terry was unique in that it had a

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[18]Gingerich, 177.
[19]Charles Breneman, Personal papers, available at the archives of the Center for Anabaptist History, Martinsburg, OH.
[20]Susan Yoder photographs, private collection, Fredericksburg OH.
[21]Charles Breneman papers, Letter dated March 21, 1943.
[22]Keim, *The CPS Story*, 54.

soil conservation. Most camps did not have this dual focus so there were technical advisors from the FSA and the SCS in this camp. As with most early camps, it too was a former CCC camp.

By 1944-1945 many more of the MCC men were engaged in some form of agriculture than previously. Dairy herd testers and day laborers at farms were some forms of detached service available for the men. Scientific development in agricultural was also pursued during this time, which focused on allowing America to grow more with less land. Camp 23 in Coshocton, Ohio ran one of the most sophisticated projects, analyzing soil from all over the state. These men researched the relationship of soil types, humidity and plant life. Camp 23 was a Quaker camp and had many college educated men, including a professional botanist who made a comprehensive study of plant life in Ohio.[23]

Forest service and forestry work was another area where CPS invested a great deal of time. There were many camps engaged in this kind of work. From 11,967 man-days spent in forest improvements such as thinning and clearing undesirable trees, to collecting 27,542 pounds of tree-seeds, forestry was a large part of the CPS menôs experience.[24] At the Medaryville, Indiana camp (Camp 28), the men planted millions of pine seedlings in raised seed beds, and then replanted them in burned over areas. In order to plant the trees in these areas, the men would take a long rope marked at three foot intervals. With a man at each end of the rope stretching the rope tight, two men at each flagged interval would plant a tree. The two men would then move three feet ahead and the process would repeat itself. In this manner, trees were planted at three

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[23]Keim, 52. Because all my interviews so far have been with Amish or Mennonite men and because this camp is close to the large Amish and Mennonite settlement in Holmes County OH no one interviewed served here. There is some evidence that needs further investigation that the Ohio Agriculture and Research Development Center, Wooster OH (an extension of OSU) benefitted from the results of these experiments.

[24]Gingerich, 456.

his process was repeated at many other camps with slight changes due to terrain and manpower.[25]

The prevention and fighting of forest fires took nearly one-fourth of all man-days for CPS. Most men worked out of base camps and then moved into areas in smaller ñspikeò camps to fight fires. This was especially true of camps in the mountainous regions of the west and northeast. Most of the work was in fire prevention such as building firebreaks, clearing brush and manning fire lookout towers.[26] One of the most challenging works in this field was developed at an MCC camp in Missoula, Montana which opened in the late spring of 1943. It was here that men were first trained to parachute into remote areas to fight forest fires. The first ñsmoke jumpersò were actually CPS men who volunteered for this work. This also brought welcome publicity to CPS when *Time*, in an article ñParachutes for Pacifistsò in January 1943, said, ñConscientious objectors who want courageous, if noncombatant, wartime work learned last week that they might get it. In June Selective Service will start giving some 60 conchies the stiff Army and Marine parachute training course. The purpose: to fight forest fires.ò[27] While extremely taxing, this was much sought after ñspecial dutyò by the CPS men.[28] Ivan Amstutz, a Mennonite from Kidron, OH who served as a smoke jumper said that the adventure led him to choose the Missoula camp. Interestingly enough Selective Service required signed parental permission forms for this work. Amstutz says that he sent the form to his parents; his father signed it but his mother did not. He did not write back to ask why, instead he had someone ñelse sign my

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[25]Neuenschwander, personal interview.
[26]Keim, 46.
[27]ñParachutes for Pacifists,ò *Time*, January 25, 1943. Also in Stephen Taylor, 55-56.
[28]In personal conversation with one of the men who served, Noah Troyer, Mt. Hope, OH, he speaks of being dropped onto a mountain to fight a fire. After an entire day and being out of water the contingent of men had to walk 4 hours to the bottom to get to a stream for water and pickup.

ot go through with only my dadôs signature, so I wanted to make sure. I wanted to get in there!ò[29]

Another lonely, difficult job was that of manning fire towers. Leroy Keim, an Amish boy from Ohio, who served at Camp 45 in Luray, Virginia speaks of the loneliness ñIt is not misstating the facts when it is said that a fire tower look-out man has the most or at least equal to the most lonesome job known.ò[30] This was a volunteer position with each man serving one week in the tower and then one week back on regular camp duty. The men were taught basic navigational skills and the use of the ñfire-finderò, a degree measuring and mapping tool, to locate fires so they could be fought. When a fire was spotted, they would radio the location to the Forest Service personnel so it could be fought.

In conjunction with forest service work, CPS also worked with the National Park system. Camps in Virginia served the Shenandoah National Park where the men engaged in fire control and also road construction. Many of the stone walls along the Blue Ridge Parkwayôs Skyline Drive were constructed by CPS men during this time.[31] In Belton, Montana near Glacier National Park the men also worked in fire control and development of walking trails, etc. Later a small contingent of men from this camp went to Yellowstone National Park to perform the same kind of work.

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[29]Interviewed in, Heather T. Frasier and John OôSullivan, *We Have Just Begun to Not Fight: An Oral History of Conscientious Objectors in Civilian Public Service in World War II* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), 70. One wonders if the same criteria was used for military service parachute training.

[30]Keroy Keim in Mose A. Schlabach and John A. Erb eds. *CPS Camp Book, Volume II.* (Sugercreek OH: Carlisle Press, 1997), 67.

[31]Dan B Troyer in Mose A. Schlabach and John A. Erb eds. *CPS Camp Book, Volume II.* (Sugercreek OH: Carlisle Press, 1997), 20.

rigation ditches, and cutting brush, while important, did not address the greater humanitarian issues that they wanted to focus on. When hospital work, particularly work in mental hospitals, became available, many men took the opportunity. During World War II, mental hospitals faced severe labor shortages. Many of the people staffing these hospitals had been drafted, had volunteered for military duty, or had taken higher paying jobs in the defense or munitions industry. The first unit of COs working in the mental health field was in Williamsburg, VA at the Eastern State Hospital at a unit run by the AFSC. Approximately three thousand COs would end up working in the mental hospital arena; they worked in forty-four hospitals and fifteen training schools, with about half the men being Mennonites. They primarily worked as attendants, which was the biggest need. Charles Zeller, superintendent of the Philadelphia State Hospital, in a letter of appeal to Col. Kosch of the Selective Service, said, ñAs of this date, we have one hundred and ten vacancies out of one hundred and seventy-three male attendant positions. We have one paid attendant on duty on each shift per one hundred and forty-four patients.ò[32]

In 1940, in addition to being deplorably understaffed, mental health facilities were often violent places where violence by the staff against patients was all too common.[33] Steven J. Taylor, the Centennial Professor of Disability Studies at Syracuse University, has written extensively on this issue. In his book, *Acts of Conscience,* Taylor talks about the horrible conditions in many mental health facilities. In his own experience much later, he still found extensive use of violence and dehumanization in these institutions.[34] This was even more prevalent when the COs first began their work in these institutions. MCC General Director,

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[32]Steven J. Taylor, 79.
[33]Toews. 168.
[34] Taylor, 382.

get closer to serving people rather than just taking care of the soil and trees. Part of the push came from the boys themselves.ò[35] Of all the CPS work that occurred, it appears that mental health care work provided some of severest tests for the men. It is also the work that brought the most satisfaction to the men who served. Many CPS men saw it as an opportunity to give to people who could not give back; one anonymous CO said ñI feel it was more worthwhile than working in camp. We tried to make patients feel wanted, and rebuild trust in themselves, if they were depressed. After being there for a while, you really got attached to some of them.ò[36] It is important to note that service in this field was entirely voluntary and required no previous training or experience. In most cases appeals would be made to the men, often in the camp newsletters, and they would be transferred to the appropriate unit for this kind of service.

Camp 93 at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, at the Harrisburg State Hospital, presented their work in 1945 in a booklet entitled *Anniversary Review*, marking their second anniversary as a unit. This MCC camp is representative of many of the Mennonite camps in this field. About half the booklet is devoted to describing the hospital and its work, including a section on ñWhat is Psychiatry.ò The second half describes the origins and makeup of the CPS unit. In 1945, it included ñseventeen Old Mennonites, eight Old Order Amish, four General Conference Mennonites, five Conservative Amish Mennonitesò and one each from five other groups. The men were from nine different states and ranged in age from 21 to 32.[37] This is very typical of the smaller units and especially of the mental health units where participation was voluntary.

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[35]Fast qtd. in Bush, 108.

[36]Story 23 in Mose A. Schlabach and John A. Erb eds. *CPS Camp Book, Volume II.* (Sugercreek OH: Carlisle Press, 1997), 73.

[37]*Anniversary Review* May 1945. Published by members of CPS Unit 93under the administration of MCC.

en to this field are enormous. In one case, where a group of CPS men began working on a ward populated by ñthe criminally insane,ò previous attendants had never entered the ward without blackjacks to control the patients. The COs asked for and received hesitant permission to work the ward without these clubs. It worked out so well that the use of the blackjacks was abandoned for all employees.[38] Another change wrought was the establishment of the National Mental Health Foundation, by four COs with no formal training. This organization became instrumental in bringing about changes in the field during and after the war.[39] CPS also developed what is known as the Mental Hygiene Program of which Camp 93 was a part. It had three broad priorities for which it worked: educating the public about conditions at mental health institutions, improving the training and elevating the attendant position, and reforming mental health commitment laws.[40] Through their mental hospital work, many COs worked hard to develop an awareness of the issues in the field. They gained some famous sponsors who encouraged their work, including Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, and Eleanor Roosevelt, who both served as board members for the above-mentioned organization.[41] Steven Taylor says that the acts of conscience in the way that the COs worked for reform need to be remembered as good and ñinherently worthy.ò While it did not fix the system, it did bring considerable public awareness that led to slow change that is continuing today.[42]

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[38] *Anniversary Review*, 53.
[39] For more see Taylor. *Acts of Conscience.*
[40] Taylor, 388.
[41] ñNational Mental Health Foundationò Center on Human Policy. Available online at www.disabilitystudiesforteachers.org *accessed 23 March, 2010.*
[42] Taylor, 395.

health efforts and social work. In North Central Florida, at Camp 27 (Mulberry), the COs worked to eradicate hookworms. They built sanitary privies to help stop the spread of the disease. By the time the camp closed, the men had built and distributed 4,200 privies, installed hundreds of septic tanks and dug countless wells. This area was very poor and many of the people who benefitted from the program were poor African-Americans who were tenant farmers. There were similar efforts by CPS in Puerto Rica, where they also established hospitals and clinics.[43]

Unit 115 was another specialized unit (See Appendix B). Working under the auspices of the Office of Scientific Research and Development and the Office of the Surgeon General of the United States Army, this unit supplied volunteer human guinea pigs for medical experiments. This unit was one of only a few jointly operated by the three arms of the HPC (AFSC, BSC and MCC). Although few Mennonites served in this unit, which ran from October 1943 to October 1946, it was open for any of the three groups to participate in.[44] The men who served in this unit were drawn from other camps on a volunteer basis. While uncomfortable at the least, and potentially extremely dangerous, these experiments would never lack for volunteers from the COs. This was not because it was an easy way to avoid work; rather, this came as a result of their desire to help humanity, an idea that the HPC had always espoused in relief and humanitarian projects.

One of the first such experiments was run by the Harvard Medical School who used CPS men to search for a cheap control for typhus. The men who volunteered were given lice-infested clothing to wear for three weeks while continuing with their daily work. Each day different

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[43]Keim, *The CPS Story*, 74.
[44]Ibid., 75. Also Gingerich, 270.

they would kill the lice. Eventually two safe and effective powders were found to control this dreaded disease.[45]

In 1944 and 1945, Unit 115 supplied men for an experiment in the control of atypical pneumonia in Pinehurst, North Carolina. The volunteers ingested throat washings of infected soldiers who had the disease. In two different phases, the Surgeon Generalôs office and the Army Epidemiological Board were able to identify that these illnesses were caused by a virus and not bacteria.[46] As in the case of this research, the men who participated in any of the experiments were volunteers with no attempts at coercion. Most times word would be spread through the camp newsletters that men were needed. In May 1945, the *Dove-Tail*, the camp newsletter for Camp 52 in Powellsville, MD ran a story titled ñGuinea Pig Unitò which told about two army doctors who visited the camp and solicited volunteers.

> ñWe were told that these two doctors had been working before the war on the experiment and were continuing their work in the army under the Surgeon Generalôs office. The disease dealt with, atypical pneumonia, is more like the common cold than pneumonia as you think of it. But the main resemblance of it to the common cold is that it is common, therefore, the quantity and not so much the quality of the disease makes it worth studying. What the doctors want to see is if there is any connection between the two diseases. Their chief method will be the attempt to cause atypical pneumonia in humans by direct contact with the diseases carrying discharges of other humans.[47]

The author went on to record that over a dozen men registered from Camp 52. Each man who was chosen was confined to a room for a two-month period. The educational director of this unit, John A. Hostetler, supplied the men with magazines, books, crocheting and weaving

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[45]Ibid, 75.
[46]Keim, *The CPS Story*, 47.
[47]ñGuinea Pig Unitò *The Dove-Tail,* 17 May 1945, available from MC Arcives, Goshen IN,

e men who participated in this project eventually all fully recovered and returned to the CPS work projects.

The University of Pennsylvania and Yale University also ran experiments using CPS men. In this case it was an attempt to discover the source and treatment of infectious hepatitis. The men were inoculated with plasma that was thought to carry the disease, or swallowed throat washings and body wastes of infected patients. They also drank water suspected of being contaminated. The researchers discovered that this strain of hepatitis was caused by a virus and spread not only in human waste, but also in serum and infected water supplies. This was potentially dangerous and many of the men became very ill as result of the disease. One of the men who participated, Warren Sawyer, wrote, ñI was really sick on Thanksgiving Day, I really thought I had jaundice and that I would die.ò[49] Some of the men had liver biopsies done after recovering to see if lasting damage had occurred. C. Everett Koop, who would go on to become the Surgeon General of the United States, performed some of these biopsies as a young doctor. After the war one of the men who had been a part of this research wrote to Koop. Koop replied that if he had known ñwhat he does now, he wouldnôt have done it, it was too dangerous.ò Koop claims that at least one of the men involved died as a result of the diseases.[50] While this has never been substantiated, the research was dangerous and in all likelihood had a lasting impact on the health of the men involved.

The war in the Pacific made malaria a potentially dangerous disease to allied troops in that theater. By now it was known that mosquitoes carried the disease; the problem was the cure.

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[48]Gingerich, 273.
[49]Qtd. in Taylor, 85.
[50]Neil Hartman, qtd. in Taylor 85. The author knows of at least one Mennonite man who volunteered and participated in this experiment. Unfortunately the onset of dementia has caused his story to be unemployable in this section. His family and friends have indicated that this was a formational time in the life of this man.

is disease, but its primary source was controlled by Japan. The University of Chicago Medical School, and Columbia, Stanford, and Cornell Universities used the Massachusetts General Hospital and CPS men to conduct experiments. Men would allow themselves to be bitten by mosquitoes that carried the disease and then various new medicines were tried. Eventually drugs superior to quinine were found. Men who had the disease were also tested in the subsequent month and the debilitating long-term effects of the disease were discovered.[51]

Perhaps the best known of these experiments was the starvation experiment at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Ancel Keys designed this dramatic experiment which began in November 1944 and ended July 1946. The reason for this dramatic experiment was to find the most effective foods for relief of the devastation of the war ravaged areas of Europe. Not only were food supplies destroyed, but also the apparatus for processing and distributing the food. Keys, who had worked on previous military nutrition research, used the argument that solving world hunger would make the world and especially Europe good for democracy. Thirty-six men under the direction of the BSC volunteered after an eleven page advertising pamphlet was sent to various camps. While many of the men do not remember what the pamphlet said, most remember the cover which had a photo of three French children looking at empty bowls with the slogan, ñWill You Starve That They Be Better Fed.ò[52]

After an initial ñnormalizationò period where each manôs weight was stabilized through a normal diet, the men were given a drastically reduced diet of 1,500-1,800 calories per day for six months. This was followed by a rehabilitation program using various foods to test which would

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[51]Keim, *The CPS Story*, 78. Also Taylor 80.
[52]Todd Tucker, *The Great Starvation Experiment* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 35.

ack from the edge of starvation. The information discovered in this experiment would later be used in the European Recovery Program (or more commonly the Marshall Plan) and other efforts to feed the ravaged post-war world. What makes this experiment unique from all the others is that it was discovered by *Life Magazine* in 1945. Before this article, publicity of CPS and the work of the COs had been limited because of the governmentôs desire to minimize publicity. Outside of the people involved and the local communities where the camps were, not many Americans knew about CPS. While mentioning nothing about the CPS program, it does cast the men in a good light and indicates their volunteerism and the fact that they were COs. *Life* was one of the most widely distributed publications at the time, and many Americans were made aware of the sacrifice of the COs for the first time through this story.[53]

There were other experiments including food research, nutritional research, and medical experiments. While there may have been some of the COs who were motivated to join these experiments through the desire to avoid work, it does not appear that either the camp administration or the research organizations thought this was true. What then would motivate men to volunteer for this work? Many believed that this was a way to serve humanity. Some served in this way to prove that they were not cowards, or ñyellowò as they were often addressed. Many may have served because of personal interest in the medical field. Dr. Wain Eberly, a medical doctor and former CPS man who participated in the atypical pneumonia experiment, points to this experience as the motivation to join the medical field.[54] Another

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[53] Wallace Kirkland, ñMen Starve in Minnesotaò *Life Magazine* (July 30, 1945), 43-46.

[54] Dr. Wain B. Eberly, personal conversation. Dr. Eberly was the authorôs primary care doctor for nearly twenty-five years. He would often comment about his camp days and encouraged other humanitarian projects throughout his career. Unfortunately the onset of dementia makes it impossible to formally interview him. See also

ted in the hepatitis research, gave his reason for participation, ñWe were called yellow bellies and things like that. I wanted to prove that I wasnôt afraid to take risks if it did good. I would not take risks to kill people, but if it would save people. . .ò[55] Perhaps this best sums up the work of CPS: these men were willing to take risks in smoke jumping, medical experiments and camp work because they felt that they were working for the broader good of humanity. Thus, while not willing to kill, they were willing to risk their own lives for the greater good as part of Americaôs greatest generation.

National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors. *1996 Directory of Civilian Public Service*, (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1996), 94.

[55]Qtd in Taylor, 85.

The Impact of CPS

Selective Service began releasing men from CPS in October 1945. Initially, Selective Service had planned to discharge COs based on a point system similar to the Armyôs which looked at accumulated service, marital status and family size. Veterans groups, the War Department and the White House opposed any demobilization of COs until all the men had been released from the armed forces. It was not until September 21, 1945, nearly five weeks after the war had ended, that Lt. Col. Kosch and Paul C. French of NSBRO met with the House Military Committee and obtained permission to allow ña systematic release of conscientious objectors from Civilian Public Service camps and units.ò The discharges began almost immediately based on time served, but were not a point system and would not be characterized as demobilization.[1] The Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 expired in March1947 and the last CPS men were discharged, nearly six years after the first men had reported to Grottoes, Virginia.

The Selective Service and Training Act had indicated that COs would serve for six months after the war ended. The Quakers, who were increasingly troubled by the perceived heavy-handedness of the Selective Service, decided their obligation to CPS did not extend beyond March 2, 1946. The AFSC withdrew from NSBRO and any remaining AFSC operated camps were turned over to direct Selective Service control.[2] The Brethren and Mennonites continued with their operations through NSBRO until the end of the program.[3]

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[1] Mitchell L. Robinson, The U. S. Civilian Public Service.ò *In Challenge to Mars: Essays on Pacifism from 1918 to 1945* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1999), 324.

[2]The Government operated a few camps throughout the program where those deemed recalcitrant and uncooperative were often sent. They were often seen as ñpunishment camps.ò Two significant ones were Camp 148 in Minersville, CA and Camp 135 in Germfask MI.

[3]Robinson, 324.

the impact of CPS since the program ended. Without a doubt, this program brought changes not only to churches and men who served, but also to the American landscape in general. The post-war efforts of the Mennonite church were also deeply impacted by this program, with many of the mission efforts and humanitarian aid programs being staffed by men and women who had developed a social awareness during their time in camp. CPS also changed the way that the HPC, the government and the general public viewed the conscientious objector and alternative service in the United States. Some of those changes have been well documented, as in the medical experiments; others such as the racial and social changes are harder to document and therefore need evaluation in order to understand the impact of the program.

Racial issues are a long-simmering issue in the American landscape. While it is difficult to say how many nonwhites served in CPS, there were clearly some, including at least one African-American Muslim, Nazeer Aleem, who served in at least four AFSC-run camps.[4] There are other examples of racial integration in CPS as well. Many of the extant photos show African-Americans as a part of the camps, which indicates without question that the camps were racially integrated.[5] The three groups of the HPC have a long-standing history of speaking out against racial issues and especially slavery. This is particularly true of the Quakers, who had been identified with the abolition movement. While silent on the issue of race, the Mennonite church had neither held slaves nor condoned slavery. Many Mennonites, whose largest communities were in the Midwest and Pennsylvania, arrived at CPS camps not knowing the grim realities of the racial issues plaguing America, especially in the South. NSBRO and the MCC Committee

[4] National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors. *1996 Directory of Civilian Public Service*, (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1996), 3.

[5] For more see Taylor, 91.

l issued no official word, so it became up to the individual CO to take the stand against racism in the camps.

At Mulberry, FL (camp 27), one of the CPS men shook hands with a local African-American farmer in the post office. A local citizen took the man aside and severely reprimanded him. Members of the same camp also threw a party for a local black high school graduating class, after which the Ku Klux Klan warned the men to ñlay off.ò[6] At another camp the men invited a local farmer to eat with them when he visited the camp. The man, who was African-American shocked the men, when he expressed his fear and amazement at the opportunity. For many sheltered Mennonites, this was an opportunity to realize the depth of racial issues in America.[7]

Another group of people who were segregated during this era were the Japanese-Americans. From the beginning of the war those in the western United States had been segregated and placed in camps which they could not leave. As early as 1942, MCC Executive Secretary Orie O. Miller entertained ideas of placing interned Japanese families with Mennonite families. While this never occurred, it does show the growing social awareness among Mennonites and especially the MCC. Executive Order 9066 had given the Army authority in February 1942 to round up and incarcerate these ñpotential enemies.ò[8] Before the roundup, a young Japanese-American, George Yamada had already been drafted. Given CO status by his local board, he had been sent to Cascade Locks, Oregon to a BSC-run camp. In June 1942, the camp director, Mark Schrock received a telegram from the Selective Service requesting ñGeorge Kiyoshi Yamada is to be discharged from CPS Camp 21 Cascade Locks, Oregon in order that he may be sent to a

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[6]Bush, 109.
[7]Taylor, 92
[8]Charles Davis and Jeffrey Kovac, ñConfrontation at the Locks,ò *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 107 available online at www.historycooperatives.org. accessed February 17, 2009, 6.

Relocation Authority.ò[9] After speaking with Yamada, Schrock sent a letter of protest to Hershey and also the representatives of NSBRO. After discussing the situation in a formal meeting with the entire camp, the nearly two hundred men at this camp responded with a telegram and a letter of protest to General Hershey, NSBRO, Forest Service, and other interested parties. In the letter, they state ñthe 200-odd men who comprise this camp are agreed in a philosophy opposed to race discrimination. Because of our basic belief in full racial equality, and our objection to restriction of civil liberties . . . .ò Similar letters were sent to the War Relocation Authority and other government agencies. Col. Kosch was enraged with the response of the COs, who he felt were plotting against the government, and threatened to go to Oregon and take over the camp.[10] The BSC sent director W. Harold Row to express their displeasure at the menôs response. NSBRO negotiated a less-than-ideal response by receiving permission to transfer Yamada to Colorado Springs (camp 5), which was outside the restricted zone for Japanese-Americans. Yamada was later transferred to a government-run camp.[11] What is crucial is the overwhelming response of the CPS men who spoke out against the racial discrimination of the era. The letters from camp 21 were widely distributed at other CPS camps and overwhelmingly the men spoke out in favor of Yamada, as well as expressing their concern at other issues of racial discrimination.

NSBRO and the leadership of CPS were caught between these idealistic young men and the structure of Selective Service. They worked hard at preserving their system (CPS) and preferred

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[9]Davis and Kovak, 9.
[10]Ibid, 15.
[11]According to Davis and Kovak, Yamada was later active in racial issues at camp 5 and was later transferred to the ñpunishment campò at Germfask, MI where after six month he walked out and was arrested. He spent the three and half years in federal prisons at Ashland KY and Danbury CT. Yamadaôs story is one of the tragedies of CPS.

or fear that it would cause recrimination. Two Jewish men who were also at Camp 21 wrote about NSBRO, ñIts stand on discrimination is very weak and definitely not in accord with the great majority of the men in CPS. Rationalization has been used to carry the point when it was felt that serious opposition would be encountered.ò With the Yamada situation and other issues of race and equality, NSBRO did not always live up to the ideals that they had about race and social justice. This was primarily out of fear that the Selective Service would be offended and threaten the program.[12] Yet individuals and groups of COs did work hard at integration. A Mennonite CO, Van Dyck, commented on this issue and its significance: ñSecond only to the issue of war and peace, the race problem was the social issue of greatest concern to the COs in CPS. This was not to suggest that all CPS men were free of racial prejudice. There were many who were not inclined to shoulder the cause of blacks, even vocally, to say nothing of challenging Americaôs racist institutions.ò[13] While the work of CPS may have seemed menial to many of the men, the social exposure to issues like racial integration would become important not only in the future of the HPC, but also the future of the nation. This would become an issue that many of these men would take home, thereby beginning to try and make changes in their communities.[14]

CPS also began a process of opening up a new world for Mennonite women. While much of the work focuses on men because they were the ones drafted, the women also contributed a great deal. Many served in camps as dieticians, nurses and administrative assistants. CPS opened up ways for these women to think differently about their role in alternative service as well. The role

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[12]Taylor, 100.
[13]Qtd. in Taylor, 102.
[14]Much could be said about both the positive and negative issues related to this subject. Obviously CPS was a shaping factor in many of these menôs lives and the social issues that they confronted would go home with them. Research on the influence of this issue and later issues of integration would be fascinating and are necessary.

e. Because of this, it would be unfair to give them ñadd onò space in this work. They deserve their own space and time for their input. Their stories are as much a part of CPS as the menôs are.[15]

Another significant development of CPS is what Perry Bush calls ñthe creation of a shared ethic of compassionate service as a hallmark of a new Mennonitism.ò[16] While Mennonites had been engaged in service projects before CPS (particularly the groups affiliated with MCC) CPS created a new awareness for an entire generation of Mennonites. Many of the COs had arrived at camps from small isolated communities with little contact to a broader world.[17] While not initially engaged in social welfare work, MCC worked hard to expose men to the needs of the war-ravaged world. Many camp newsletters encouraged the men to give some of their meager allowances to food drives for refugees.[18] Many of the men also served in mental hospitals and on projects to aid poor and needy people, which allowed them to see needs that they had never previously been exposed to. One CPS publication said ñNever before have we as Mennonite people been so óworld conscious.ôò[19] This awareness would wake up not only the men, but also the Mennonite church, in ways that had never before happened.

This consciousness unleashed a flood of volunteers and funds such as MCC had never seen. In the first few years after the war MCC was hard pressed to create enough programs to use these resources. By 1948, MCC had several hundred Mennonites in place doing rehabilitation and

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[15] Fortunately Rachel Waltner Goosen and Norita Yoder have or are investing significant efforts into such a work. See bibliographic entries for more information.

[16] Bush, 107.

[17] One reason for this is their stance against media forms such as radio and their focus on separation from the world.

[18] *The Dove-Tail,* camp paper of Camp 52, carries repeated overtures to the men to give money for relief efforts of MCC.

[19] Qtd. in Bush, 111.

grams, PAX, was a program modeled on CPS, and in many cases staffed by former CPS men. Most Mennonites believed that the model of CPS, focusing on hands-on service by relatively unskilled but eager young men, was what the post-war world needed. [20] Luke Rhodes, a CPS man who also served with PAX in Germany, says that in many cases the work was similar. Rebuilding war-ravaged Europe was much like rebuilding the USA after the depression.[21] Mr. Rhodes is typical of a young Mennonite man, from an isolated community, who felt that it was important to give to the needs of the world. He says that he first became aware of those needs in the CPS camps. It was here that he learned of the opportunities that were being offered through MCC.

Other programs developed out of CPS as well. Long-term Voluntary Service (VS), which in many respects was a continuation of CPS, originated shortly after the end of CPS. Volunteers would give a minimum of one year of their lives to MCC. Historian Paul Toews says that ñfor most of these VSers the experience was analogous to CPS. Early VSers echoed the sentiments of early CPSers in their testimony to the meaning of ópositive service.ôò[22] Another program that developed out of the CPS program is the Mennonite Mental Health Service (MMHS), which went on to establish several mental health facilities. Again there is a direct link to the work done in CPS to this work.

Prior to CPS, most of the Mennonite relief and humanitarian aid projects focused on their own people: Mennonites helping displaced and suffering Mennonites. CPS began a movement that these later organizations continued on a much broader basis, Mennonite humanitarian and social

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[20]Calvin Redekop, *The PAX Story* (Telford, PA: Pandora Press, 2001), 21. See also Peter J. Dyck, *Up From the Rubble,* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1991).

[21]Rhodes, interview.

[22]Paul Toews, ñCO Influence on Mennonite World,ò *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (October 1992): 625.

essarily focused on other Mennonites. Today, Mennonite groups from a wide spectrum of the church serve in humanitarian aid projects all over the world. Many of these developed in the post-war era with this newly awakened world awareness that came as a result of CPS. CPS men led many of these efforts after the program ended, and while there is no administrative connection, it is entirely feasible that the massive humanitarian aid programs developed by Mennonites may have been much more modest had there been no CPS.[23]

CPS also caused reverberations within the Mennonite church. For many of the men who had come from rural isolated communities, this exposure to a broader world, and particularly to a broader Christian world, was life changing. For the first time, many of them related with men from different parts of the church. For many years, the Mennonites had relied on social isolation as a means of protecting their doctrine and practices. CPS changed that. Many CPS men, in telling their stories, speak about this issue. Roy Mast, who served in Camp 52 and later on detached duty as ñoverheadò at the MCC headquarters, said he learned that Amish, Mennonites and other groups could get along.[24] Another said, ñThereôs no doubt that the experience of CPS have contributed to the growing interest in the coming together of Mennonite groups.ò[25] This is a theme repeated over and over by the men who served. Many men were also exposed to opportunities for learning that did not exist in their communities, through the educational programs in the camps. From Bible and theology classes, to woodworking and technical classes, the men had opportunities that did not exist prior to this.[26] Without a doubt, CPS encouraged

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[23]In interviews with CPS men, an issue that arose time after time is the social awareness that arose in the camps as men realized the broader world and its needs.

[24]Roy Mast, Interview.

[25]Ray E Horst in *Our CPS Stories*, Prairie Street Mennonite Church, 1996.

[26]Many of the men interviewed said that they learned more in their time in CPS than any other period in their lives. It was also a time of spiritual awakening for many men, particularly many of the Amish and more

g the men. While some of the more traditional leaders wished for denominationally segregated camps, the men overwhelmingly considered the intermixing beneficial. In fact, sixty-seven percent of the Mennonite CPS men gave a favorable response to inter-denominational camps, while only nine percent thought it harmful. The post-war Mennonite world was drastically changed by this fact. Three inter-Mennonite organizations had started from1920-1940. From the end of CPS in 1947 until 1967, thirty-two such agencies started! Many of the mergers of groups should be traced to the integrative impact of CPS; and even where groups did not merge, the ability to relate was greatly enhanced by CPS.[27]

This was not seen as entirely positive for some of the Mennonite leaders, particularly the more conservative groups. One of the early questions about CPS and alternative service was about whether partnering with other groups, particularly the more ñworldlyò Quakers would be too much of an influence on the Mennonites. MCC, in a policy statement about CPS in 1943, said that ñparticipation in the NSBRO is not to be construed as necessarily signifying agreement with the other agencies or members of NSBRO in points of social or religious philosophy.ò[28] While MCC was careful to assure its members that it stood firm on this issue, this question plagued the Mennonites throughout the duration of CPS. In 1943, a committee, The CPS Investigating Committee, commissioned by the General Conference Mennonite, reported that while CPS had much to admire ñthere is danger in our cooperating in its (NSBRO) work of compromising our biblical position and of being mistaken as pacifistic objectors, thus obscuring our testimony as

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conservative Mennonite men who had not had Bible Study and preaching in English prior to this. One New Order Amish Bishop who served in CPS noted, ñI had my spiritual awakening in camp during a Mennonite preaching service.ò

[27] Gingerich, 467.

[28] *Mennonite Civilian Public Service Policy Statement*, September 16, 1943. Available from MC-Archives.

G. Richard Culp, a former camp director also critiques the program. He is intensely critical of the leadership of MCC, calling them ñliberal pacifists.ò He says that MCC led the church away from its historical moorings by the ecumenicalism that it encouraged, both by its interaction in NSBRO and also by bringing all the Mennonites under one umbrella. This recent publication (1999) shows the impact that this question and the entire CPS program still have on the Mennonite landscape.[30]

While there was much discussion whether their involvement in NSBRO and their interaction with other Mennonite groups constituted an ñunequal yokeò for the Mennonites, there seem to have been fewer questions during the program about their engagement with the government. It appears as though the Mennonites and MCC wrestled less with this question than did the Quakers or the Brethren. This may be a result of their different views of pacifism or nonresistance. For the Mennonites, the program seemed to be a viable alternative, and cooperation with the government was a price to pay for that privilege. Generally, the Mennonites felt that to resist government authority would be wrong, unless it forced them to violate their conscience, in which case they would appeal. Initially, the program was seen as a victory for the CO status, with one Mennonite leader saying ñIf the people in our churches can catch a vision of the wonderful opportunity God, through this arrangement of the government has placed at their disposal . . . they will thank God for the opportunity.ò[31] This seems to be the prevailing view of most Mennonites throughout the program, which is substantially different from the other HPC

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[29]*General Conference Report*, Goshen Indiana, August 18-24, 1943. Available from MC-Archives
[30]G. Richard Culp, *The Minority Report,* (Walnut Creek, OH: Carlisle Printing, 1999), 154.
[31]Toews, *CO Influence of the Mennonite World*, 616.

after the war and into the subsequent conflicts in Korea and Vietnam that serious questions arose about the relationships with the government.

Without a doubt, CPS had a lasting impact on the Mennonite Church. It created awareness of a broader world, and forced the Mennonites to face some of the more difficult issues of that world in the racism and humanitarian need. It also affected the church in its relationships within the group. Many mergers have happened as a result of a new awareness that developed during CPS. The Mennonites also developed a new awareness of interaction with the government as a result of CPS, and subsequent drafts were affected by this relationship. CPS, however, did not only impact the HPC, but also the broader world as we know it today.

The contribution of CPS is difficult to measure in quantifiable form. The man-days that the men worked can be counted and sums per day could be attributed,[33] but this does not realistically measure the contribution. In some camps, the men were used as day labor in agricultural endeavors. Because they could not receive wages, the money paid by the farmers was placed into the Federal Treasury. These monies were never earmarked as related to CPS, so it is impossible to measure the amount that went into government coffers through this. Another area that is impossible to measure in monetary terms is that of inventions and ideas that originated in the rich atmosphere of the camps. Wherever that CPS was involved innovative new ideas developed. In Camp 12, a Forest Service camp, near Cooperstown, New York, a CPS man invented an instrument that calculated the yield of a stand of timber, which allowed for much

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[32]Notre Dame historian Dorothy O. Pratt who has focused study on the Amish community says that they are singularly the only part of CPS that have a strong favorable impression of CPS. I t may be added that this is also the case with the more conservative Mennonite groups and because this is the focus group that was interviewed for this work the memories are generally positive. See Pratt, 104.

[33]Albert Keim and others have done this, arriving at figures that are in the 22-30 million dollar range, this in 1940 dollars.

another camp, men developed a tractor-driven posthole driver that saved massive amounts of time over hand placement of posts. The same basic design is still in use today.[34] One CPS man developed a solenoid switch for the water pump in the camp because it kept overflowing. The same man also developed refrigeration for the camp that allowed for more efficient food storage.[35] According to one man, these innovations, which in many cases are still in use today, resulted from much of the menial work and the menôs desire to find more efficient and easier ways to accomplish their work.[36]

Another area that benefited from CPS was the medical field. The experiments performed on and by the CPS men have benefitted humanity a great deal. The ñguinea pigò research allowed for new developments in fighting many diseases. Hookworm eradication programs, sanitary efforts, and other health-related work were also done by these men. The work done in mental hospitals, as chronicled earlier, is a difficult thing to place a value on. Steven J. Taylor, who has done extensive work in this area, says that what ñdistinguishes the COs from institutional reformers of other eras is that their efforts have been largely forgotten or ignored in professional histories and the public realm.ò[37] This loss may be due to the fact that the government did not encourage publicity, or it could be caused by the fact that after the war many of the men sought a return to ñnormalcyò as did much of America. In any event, the change wrought by the CPSers in this arena has never fully been chronicled.

CPS also had a significant formative influence on how alternative service was viewed in subsequent drafts. While outside the scope of this work, the I-W program which replaced CPS,

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[34]Keim, *The CPS Story*, 46.
[35]Paul Neuenschwander, interview.
[36]Ibid, also Roy Mast in personal conversation.
[37]Taylor, 5.

951 to the end of the draft in 1973, was directly influenced by the positive way in which CPS was received by the government. Generally, the government agreed with General Hersheyôs assessment that CPS was a positive experiment in democracy. Therefore, when the issue arose in later drafts, the CO was much more positively received. There was some movement within the government to establish camps similar to CPS when the draft was again activated in 1948. Congress, in 1951, passed an amendment that specified that there be no camps, but rather that the men should perform "civilian work contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest" for a period equal to that required for men inducted into the armed forces, that is, for a period of 24 consecutive months.[38] In addition, the COs were able to serve closer to home, the requirement being that they must serve in a county outside of their own.[39] Without question, CPS played a positive role in allowing for alternative service programs in later conflicts. If the program had not been successfully received by the government, the institution of I-W would probably not have happened.

The CO was also much better received by the general public after the positive publicity it enjoyed late in the program. The *Life* story on the starvation experiment and other subsequent stories of the work done by the CPS men set the stage for a much more positive review than at any other time in American history. While there is no good way to measure public opinion about

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[38] Harold Sherk, J.. "I-W Service (United States)." *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online.* 1957. Web. 28 March 2010. http://www.gameo.org/encyclopedia/contents/i_w_service_united_states.

[39] Much work should be done on the connections between CPS and I-W. Without a doubt CPS played a large role in the governmentôs view of the CO during this time.

illingness to work for no pay and their focus on humanitarianism met the demands of the American public for sacrifice in the time of war[40].

The status of the CO was also viewed differently in the HPC, especially in the Mennonite Church. For the first time, a large number of men had served and returned with generally positive stories about their experience.[41] These experiences would become the foundation of how the churches viewed the role of the conscientious objector in future drafts. In the future, the Mennonite church would be much more politically vocal and active because of the CPS experience. Quakers and Brethren were affected differently by CPS. For many of them, especially the politically active Quakers, CPS was a failure. It had married the church and the state through the work of NSBRO. In the future, they would be much more hesitant to engage with the Mennonites in alternative service projects. For them, the answer was not in alternative service; rather, it was in anti-war efforts and political agitation.

CPS affected deep attitudinal changes among many of the men who served. These would lead to foundational changes in the Mennonite Church in the years ahead. Many of these men would become leaders in church and mission settings and look back at this time as instrumental in shaping their view of church-state relationships, inter-church relationships and many other issues. Writing five years after the war, Mennonite author and historian Guy F. Hershberger hoped that CPS had brought ña new social consciousness, and a new sense of social responsibility.ò[42]

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[40]Albert N. Keim, ñMennonites and the Selective Service in World War II: an Ambiguous Relationshipò *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (October 1992), 524.

[41]Bush, 120.

[42]Guy F. Hershberger, *Mennonite Church in the Second World War*, Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951), 286.

Conclusion

World War II displaced many people, most notably the refugees. But it also displaced millions of young men from their homes to the trenches and camps of war. This greatest generation for the most part obediently faced suffering, maiming and death. Within that group, the CPS men represent an extremely small part of the populace, yet they are an important part of that generation. Their importance is found in the fact that for the first time in American history a program designed for alternative service was instituted and they were a part of it. They are also important for the heroic quality of their work. Working without pay, or even dependant compensation, these men and women proved that they were willing to give for the sake of life.[1] As one camp newsletter editorialized, ña broad interpretation of minority rights implies that the best way for us to promote our own cause is not by condemning those who differ from us but by serving our own cause wholeheartedly.ò[2] Without a doubt this was the prevailing attitude among the Mennonite men who served, and in fact fourteen men in MCC camps paid the ultimate price of death. Of these fourteen, ten were as a result of accidents, one died from a beating sustained by a patient at a hospital, and the other three died of illness.[3]

Civilian Public Service was by no means an ideal situation. Based on work without pay or any dependant compensation, the program seemed like involuntary servitude for a lot of the men. Because of this issue, when many arrived in their home communities after being released, they had very little to begin life at home again. This altruistic service, while complimentary, affected

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[1]There were several efforts in Congress to allow for dependant compensation for CPS , some of whom were married and had families. All failed. For more see Keim, *the CPS Story* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1999), 98.

[2]*Pike View Peace News*, October 4, 1941. Available from MC-Archives.

[3]Melvin Gingerich, *Service for Peace* (Akron, PA: MCC, 1949), 472-473.

heir return. At the same time, many of the men learned new skills that enabled them to work in areas they never could have before.

CPS also raised serious questions about the HPC helping a military state manage its conscription. To many within the churches, this smacked of cooperation that did not sufficiently address the issues of war and resistance. Many of them argued that the churches were compromised in joint operations with the Selective Service in CPS. This cooperation was a compromise, a compromise that would haunt the HPC in the future. It has also raised the same questions as those raised in previous interactions with the government during war time. Was CPS too much like the substitution fees of the Revolutionary and Civil War? Did the HPC give up too much for alternative service? There were some who argued that a more resistant stance should be taken, and many of them ended up in prison or government camps as a result. This close cooperation with the government was an issue that plagued the program from the very first, and it is what eventually forced the Quakers to withdraw from, and many Mennonites to question, CPS.

But CPS also had a significant impact on American life. Without the work done by the CPS men in areas such as developing national parks, soil conservation, agriculture and forestry, America would have been less ready for the post-war boom. In the two representative camps, camp 52 in Powellsville, Maryland and camp 64 in Terry, Montana, over 150,000 acres of land were made usable for farming. The men also planted millions of trees in the United States. Today these trees represent not only monies but also vast areas of forest for recreational and environmental enjoyment. The men also worked in positive preventive ways such as firefighting and medical experiments. Without the work done in medical experiments, years may have gone by before some of the cures were found, cures and medications that are still in use in

at came as result of their work in the mental health field are added to the equation, the value of the work done by this program is immeasurable. CPS also changed the way that the government viewed alternative service. For the Selective Service, this precedent was important because it revealed that they could work with the HPC and conscientious objectors. CPS contributed more than any other program to the later I-W program.

In many ways, CPS is a *modus vivendi* ï a temporary arrangement for this era and circumstances.[4] The humanitarian and altruistic work done by the CPS men met their own criteria of alternative service for their conscienceôsake. It was truly an ñexperiment in democracyò as Hershey called it. This experiment, while imperfect, had an impact on all involved. Though never previously considered part of that ñgreatest generationò because of their unwillingness to join the military apparatus, CPS proved that these men and women should be considered a part of that generation. While unwilling to give their lives to kill, they were willing to risk their lives for the greater good of humanity.

[4]*Modus Vivendi* ï this Latin term is essentially an agreement to disagree. For more see Albert Keim and Grant Stoltzfus ,*The Politics of Conscience* (Eugene OR: Wipf & Stock, 2000), 147.

Appendix A
Major Religious Affiliation of Men involved in CPS

223 --Baptist

127 --Christdelphian

1,353 --Church of the Brethren

78-- Church of Christ

209 --Congregational

78 --Disciples of Christ

88 --Episcopal

50 --Evangelical

101 --Evangelical and Reformed

157 --German Baptist

409 --Jehovahôs Witnesses

108 --Lutheran

4,665-- Mennonites[1]

673 --Methodists

192 --Presbyterian

951 --Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)

149 --Roman Catholics

76 --Russian Molokans

44 --Unitarians

1659 --Other Religious Groups

449 --Unaffiliated

[1]This included the Amish as well, who served under MCC.

Appendix B
List of Camps[2]

Numbers were assigned to camps as they were established, not necessarily in the order in which the camps were opened.

Camp #3 was the first to be opened, in May 1941. Camps #38, 65, 96, 99, 101 & 145 were suspended before they opened

No.	Name	Location	Run By	Type of Service
A	[no official name assigned]	Richmond, Indiana	AFSC	Soil Conservation Service [only open June-July 1941]
1	Onekama	Manistee, Michigan	BCS	U.S. Forest Service
2	Glendora	San Dimas, California	AFSC	U.S. Forest Service
3	Patapsco	Elkridge, Maryland	AFSC	National Park Service
4	[no official name assigned]	Grottoes, Virginia	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
5	[no official name assigned]	Colorado Springs, Colorado	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
6	[no official name assigned]	Lagro, Indiana	BSC	Soil Conservation Service
7	[no official name assigned]	Magnolia, Arkansas	BSC	Soil Conservation Service
8	[no official name assigned]	Marietta, Ohio	BCS-MCC	U.S. Forest Service
9	[no official name assigned]	Petersham, Massachusetts	AFSC	U.S. Forest Service
10	[no official name assigned]	Royalston, Massachusetts	AFSC	U.S. Forest Service
11	[no official name assigned]	Ashburnham, Massachusetts	AFSC	U.S. Forest Service
12	[no official name assigned]	Cooperstown, New York	AFSC	U.S. Forest Service
13	[no official name assigned]	Bluffton, Indiana	MCC	U.S. Forest Service
14	[no official name assigned]	Merom, Indiana	AFSC	Soil Conservation Service
15	[no official name assigned]	Stoddard, New Hampshire	ACCO	U.S. Forest Service
16	[no official name assigned]	Kane, Pennsylvania	BSC	U.S. Forest Service
17	Stronach	Manistee, Michigan	BSC	U.S. Forest Service
18	[no official name assigned]	Denison, Iowa	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
19	Buck Creek	Marion, North Carolina	AFSC	National Park Service

[2] Adopted from Swarthmore College Peace Collection, 500 College Avenue, Swarthmore, PA 19081 USA, available online at http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/conscientiousobjection/CPScampsList.htm, accessed 10 March 2010.

		ısylvania	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
21	[no official name assigned]	Cascade Locks, Oregon	BSC	U.S. Forest Service
22	[no official name assigned]	Henry, Illinois	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
23	[no official name assigned]	Coshocton, Ohio	AFSC	Soil Conservation Service
24	Washington County [unit 1?]	Hagerstown, Maryland	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
	Washington County [unit 2?]	Williamsport, Maryland	BSC	Soil Conservation Service
	Washington County [unit 3?]	Boonsboro, Maryland	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
	Washington County [unit 4?]	Clearspring, Maryland	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
	Washington County [unit 5?]	New Windsor, Maryland	BSC	Soil Conservation Service
25	[no official name assigned]	Weeping Waters, Nebraska	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
26	Alexian Brothers Hospital	Chicago, Illinois	ACCO	General Hospital
27	Florida State Board of Health (Crestview, Florida) [unit 1?]	Tallahassee, Florida	BSC	Public Health Service
	Florida State Board of Health (Crestview, Florida) [unit 2?]	Mulberry, Florida	MCC	Public Health Service
	Florida State Board of Health (Crestview, Florida) [unit 3?]	Orlando, Florida	AFSC	Public Health Service
	Florida State Board of Health (Crestview, Florida) [unit 4?]	Gainesville, Florida	BSC	Public Health Service
28	Jasper-Pulaski	Medaryville, Indiana	MCC	U.S. Forest Service
29	[no official name assigned]	Lyndhurst, Virginia	BSC	National Park Service
30	[no official name assigned]	Walhalla, Michigan	BSC	U.S. Forest Service
31	Placerville	Camino, California	MCC	U.S. Forest Service
32	[no official name assigned]	West Campton, New Hampshire	AFSC	U.S. Forest Service
33	[no official name assigned]	Fort Collins, Colorado (& Buckingham Side Camp)	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
34	Patuxent	Bowie, Maryland	BSC, SSS	Fish & Wildlife Service
35	[no official name assigned]	North Fork, California	MCC (& detached service under NSBRO at various locations)	U.S. Forest Service

36	assigned]	Santa Barbara, California	BCS	U.S. Forest Service
37	Antelope	Coleville, California	AFSC	U.S. Forest Service
38	Salem Hospital	Salem, Oregon		
39	[no official name assigned]	Galax, Virginia	BSC	National Park Service
40	[no official name assigned]	Howard, Pennsylvania	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
41	Eastern State Hospital	Williamsburg, Virginia	AFSC, SSS	State Mental Hospital
42	[no official name assigned]	Wellston, Michigan	BSC	U.S. Forest Service
43	Castaner Project [unit 1?]	Adjuntas, Puerto Rico	BSC	Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration
	Castaner Project [unit 2?]	Zalduondo, Puerto Rico	AFSC	Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration
	Castaner Project [unit 3?]	Aibonita, Puerto Rico	MCC	Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration
	Castaner Project [unit 4?]	St. Thomas, Virgin Islands	BSC	Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration
44	Western State Hospital	Staunton, Virginia	MCC	State Mental Hospital
45	Shenandoah National Park	Luray, Virginia	MCC	National Park Service
46	[no official name assigned]	Big Flats, New York	AFSC, SSS	Soil Conservation Service
47	Springfield State Hospital	Sykesville, Maryland	BSC	State Mental Hospital
48	[no official name assigned]	Marienville, Pennsylvania	BSC	U.S. Forest Service
49	Philadelphia State Hospital	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	AFSC, SSS	State Mental Hospital
50	Presbyterian Hospital	New York, New York	AFSC	General Hospital
51	[no official name assigned]	Fort Steilacoom, Washington	BSC	State Mental Hospital
52	[no official name assigned]	Powellsville [Powellville]*, Maryland	AFSC, MCC	Soil Conservation Service
53	[no official name assigned]	Gorham, New Hampshire	AFSC	U.S. Forest Service
54	[no official name assigned]	Warner, New Hampshire	ACCO	U.S. Forest Service
55	[no official name assigned]	Belton, Montana	MCC	National Park Service
56	[no official name assigned]	Waldport, Oregon	BSC	U.S. Forest Service
57	[no official name assigned]	Hill City, South Dakota	MCC	National Park Service
58	Delaware State Hospital	Farmhurst, Delaware	MCC	State Mental Hospital

59	assigned]	Elkton, Oregon	AFSC	General Land Office
60	[no official name assigned]	Lapine, Oregon	MCC	Bureau of Reclamation
61	Duke University Hospital	Durham, North Carolina	MWPC	General Hospital
62	Cheltenham School for Boys	Cheltenham, Maryland	AFSC	State Training School
63	New Jersey State Hospital	Marlboro, New Jersey	MCC	State Mental Hospital
64	[no official name assigned]	Terry, Montana	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
65	Utica State Hospital	Utica, New York		
66	Norristown Hospital	Norristown, Pennsylvania	MCC	State Mental Hospital
67	[no official name assigned]	Downey, Idaho	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
68	Norwich Hospital	Norwich, Connecticut	BSC	State Mental Hospital
69	Cleveland State Hospital	Cleveland, Ohio	AFSC, MCC	State Mental Hospital
70	Dayton State Hospital	Dayton, Ohio	BSC	State Mental Hospital
71	Lima State Hospital	Lima, Ohio	MCC	State Mental Hospital
72	Hawthornden State Hospital	Macedonia, Ohio	MCC	State Mental Hospital
73	Columbus State Hospital	Columbus, Ohio	BSC	State Mental Hospital
74	Eastern Shore State Hospital	Cambridge, Maryland	BSC, ABHMS	State Mental Hospital
75	Medical Lake Hospital	Medical Lake, Washington	AFSC	State Mental Hospital
76	[no official name assigned]	Glendora, California	AFSC & SSS	U.S. Forest Service
77	Greystone Park State Hospital	Greystone Park, New Jersey	MCC	State Mental Hospital
78	Colorado Psychopathic Hospital	Denver, Colorado	MCC	State Mental Hospital
79	Utah State Hospital	Provo, Utah	MCC	State Mental Hospital
80	Lyons Veterans Hospital	Lyons, New Jersey	BSC	Veterans' Administration Hospital
81	Connecticut State Hospital	Middletown, Connecticut	AFSC, SSS	State Mental Hospital
82	Fairfield State Hospital	Newtown, Connecticut	BSC	State Mental Hospital
83	Warren State Hospital	Warren, Pennsylvania	AFSC, SSS	State Mental Hospital
84	New Hampshire State Hospital	Concord, New Hampshire	AFSC, SSS	State Mental Hospital
85	Rhode Island State Hospital	Howard, Rhode Island	MCC	State Mental Hospital
86	Mt. Pleasant State	Mt. Pleasant, Iowa	MCC	State Mental Hospital

87	Brattleboro Retreat	Brattleboro, Vermont	AFSC, SSS	State Mental Hospital
88	Augusta State Hospital	Augusta, Maine	BSC	State Mental Hospital
89	[no official name assigned]	Oakland, Maryland	AFSC	U.S. Forest Service
90	Ypsilanti State Hospital	Ypsilanti, Michigan	MCC	State Mental Hospital
91	Mansfield State Training School & Hospital	Mansfield Depot, Connecticut	BSC	State Training School
92	[no official name assigned]	Vineland, New Jersey	MCC	State Training School
93	Harrisburg State Hospital	Harrisburg, Pennsylvania	MCC	State Mental Hospital
94	[no official name assigned]	Trenton, North Dakota	AFSC (with Farm Security Administration)	Soil Conservation Service
95	[no official name assigned]	Buckley, Washington	BSC	State Training School
96	[no official name assigned]	Rochester, Minnesota		
97.1	[no official name assigned]	San Joaquin County, California	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.2	[no official name assigned]	El Paso County, Colorado	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.3	[no official name assigned]	Hartford County, Connecticut	AFSC	Dairy Farm
97.4	[no official name assigned]	McHenry County, Illinois	BSC	Dairy Farm
97.5	[no official name assigned]	Worcester County, Massachusetts	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.6	[no official name assigned]	Cecil County, Maryland	BSC	Dairy Farm
97.7	[no official name assigned]	Harford County, Maryland	BSC	Dairy Farm
97.8	[no official name assigned]	Montgomery County, Maryland	AFSC, BSC	Dairy Farm
97.9	[no official name assigned]	Queen Anne County, Maryland	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.10	[no official name assigned]	Genessee County, Michigan	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.11	[no official name assigned]	Lenawee County, Michigan	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.12	[no official name assigned]	Hillsboro County, New Hampshire	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.13	[no official name assigned]	Sussex County, New Jersey	BSC	Dairy Farm
97.14	[no official name	Chenango County, New	BSC	Dairy Farm

97.15	[no official name assigned]	Delaware County, New York	BSC	Dairy Farm
97.16	[no official name assigned]	Madison County, New York	BSC	Dairy Farm
97.17	[no official name assigned]	Orange County, New York	BSC	Dairy Farm
97.18	[no official name assigned]	St. Lawrence County, New York	BSC	Dairy Farm
97.19	[no official name assigned]	Cuyahoga County, Ohio	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.20	[no official name assigned]	Lorain County, Ohio	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.21	[no official name assigned]	Summit County, Ohio	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.22	[no official name assigned]	Wayne County, Ohio	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.23	[no official name assigned]	Coos County, Oregon	BSC	Dairy Farm
97.24	[no official name assigned]	Tillamook County, Oregon	BSC	Dairy Farm
97.25	[no official name assigned]	Allegheny County, Pennsylvania	AFSC, MCC	Dairy Farm
97.26	[no official name assigned]	Lancaster County, Pennsylvania	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.27	[no official name assigned]	Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania	BSC	Dairy Farm
97.28	[no official name assigned]	York County, Pennsylvania	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.29	[no official name assigned]	King County, Washington	BSC, MCC	Dairy Farm
97.30	[no official name assigned]	Dane County, Wisconsin	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.31	[no official name assigned]	Dodge County, Wisconsin	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.32	[no official name assigned]	Fond du Lac County, Wisconsin	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.33	[no official name assigned]	Green County, Wisconsin	MCC	Dairy Farm
97.34	[no official name assigned]	Outagamie County, Wisconsin	MCC	Dairy Farm
98	[no official name assigned]	various locations	SSS	Coast & Geodetic Survey
99	China Relief Unit	Chungking, China		
100.1	[no official name assigned]	Connecticut	AFSC	Dairy Herd Testing
100.2	[no official name assigned]	Delaware	AFSC	Dairy Herd Testing

100.3	assigned]	Georgia	AFSC	Dairy Herd Testing
100.4	[no official name assigned]	Illinois	BSC	Dairy Herd Testing
100.5	[no official name assigned]	Iowa	MCC	Dairy Herd Testing
100.6	[no official name assigned]	Maine	MCC	Dairy Herd Testing
100.7	[no official name assigned]	Maryland	BSC	Dairy Herd Testing
100.8	[no official name assigned]	Michigan	MCC	Dairy Herd Testing
100.9	[no official name assigned]	New Jersey	BSC	Dairy Herd Testing
100.10	[no official name assigned]	New York	MCC	Dairy Herd Testing
100.11	[no official name assigned]	Pennsylvania	MCC	Dairy Herd Testing
100.12	[no official name assigned]	Virginia	BSC	Dairy Herd Testing
100.13	[no official name assigned]	Vermont	AFSC	Dairy Herd Testing
100.14	[no official name assigned]	West Virginia	BSC	Dairy Herd Testing
101	Foreign Relief & Reconstruction Project	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania		
102	Rosewood State Training School	Owings Mills [Owingsmills?], Maryland	ACCO	State Training School
103	Missoula	Huson, Montana	MCC	U.S. Forest Service - *smokejumpers*
104	[no official name assigned]	Ames, Iowa	AFSC, SSS	Agriculture Experiment Station
105	[no official name assigned]	Lynchburg, Virginia	BSC	State Training School
106	Lincoln Experiment Station	Lincoln, Nebraska	MCC	Agriculture Experiment Station
107	[no official name assigned]	Three Rivers, California	MCC	National Park Service
108	[no official name assigned]	Gatlinburg, Tennessee	AFSC, SSS	National Park Service
109	Southwestern State Hospital	Marion, Virginia	BSC	State Mental Hospital
110	All-State Hospital	Allentown, Pennsylvania	MCC	State Mental Hospital
111	[no official name assigned]	Mancos, Colorado	SSS	Bureau of Reclamation
112	East Lansing Experiment Station	East Lansing, Michigan	BSC	Agriculture Experiment Station
113	Minnesota Experiment Station	Waseca, Minnesota (& Duluth, Grand Rapids, St.	BSC	Agriculture Experiment Station

114	Mount Weather	Bluemont, Virginia	BSC	Weather Bureau
115.1	California Institute of Technology	Pasadena, California	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [malaria] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.2	University of Southern California	Los Angeles, California	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [altitude pressure] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.3	Welfare Island Hospital	Welfare Island, New York	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [altitude pressure] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.4	Welfare Island Hospital	Welfare Island, New York	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [life raft rations] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.5	Welfare Island Hospital	Welfare Island, New York	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [high altitude] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.6	Metropolitan Hospital	Welfare Island, New York	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [frost bite] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.7	Psycho-Acoustic Laboratory, Harvard University	Cambridge, Massachusetts	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [malaria] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.8	New York University	New York, New York	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [poison gas] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.9	Stanford University	Stanford, California	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [malaria] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.10	Massachusetts General Hospital	Boston, Massachusetts	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [sea water] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.11	Massachusetts General Hospital	Boston, Massachusetts	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [malaria] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.12	University of Michigan	Ann Arbor, Michigan	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [weather] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.13	Haskins Laboratories	New York, New York	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [sensory device] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.14	University of Rochester School of Medicine	Rochester, New York	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [cold weather] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.15	Indiana University	Bloomington, Indiana	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [climatology] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.16	University of Michigan	Ann Arbor, Michigan	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [physiological hygiene] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.17	University of Minnesota:	Minneapolis, Minnesota	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [starvation] - *human guinea*

	Physiological Hygiene			*pig experiments*
115.18	University of Minnesota	Minneapolis, Minnesota	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [thiamine / starvation] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.19	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Cambridge, Massachusetts	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [malaria] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.20	Ohio State University	Columbus, Ohio	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [physiology] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.21	Strong Memorial Hospital / University of Rochester	Rochester, New York	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [physiology] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.22	Goldwater Memorial Hospital	Welfare Island , New York	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [malaria] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.23	Manteno State Hospital / University of Chicago	Chicago, Illinois	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [malaria] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.24	Massachusetts General Hospital	Boston, Massachusetts	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [malaria] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.25	Columbia University	New York, New York	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [malaria] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.26	New York Hospital	New York, New York	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [bed rest] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.27	Cornell University	Ithaca, New York	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [bed rest / cold conditions] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.28	University of Illinois Medical School	Chicago, Illinois	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [high altitude / cold weather] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.29	University of Chicago: Frank Billings Medical Clinic	Chicago, Illinois	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [high altitude] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.30	University of Illinois	Urbana, Illinois	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [heat / tropical conditions] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.31	Northwestern University Medical School	Chicago, Illinois	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [diet-altitude] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.32	Mayo Clinic	Rochester, Minnesota	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research & Development [aero-medical] - *human guinea pig experiments*
115.33	??	Pinehurst, North Carolina**	OSRD	Office of the Surgeon General [atypical pneumonia] - *human guinea pig experiments*

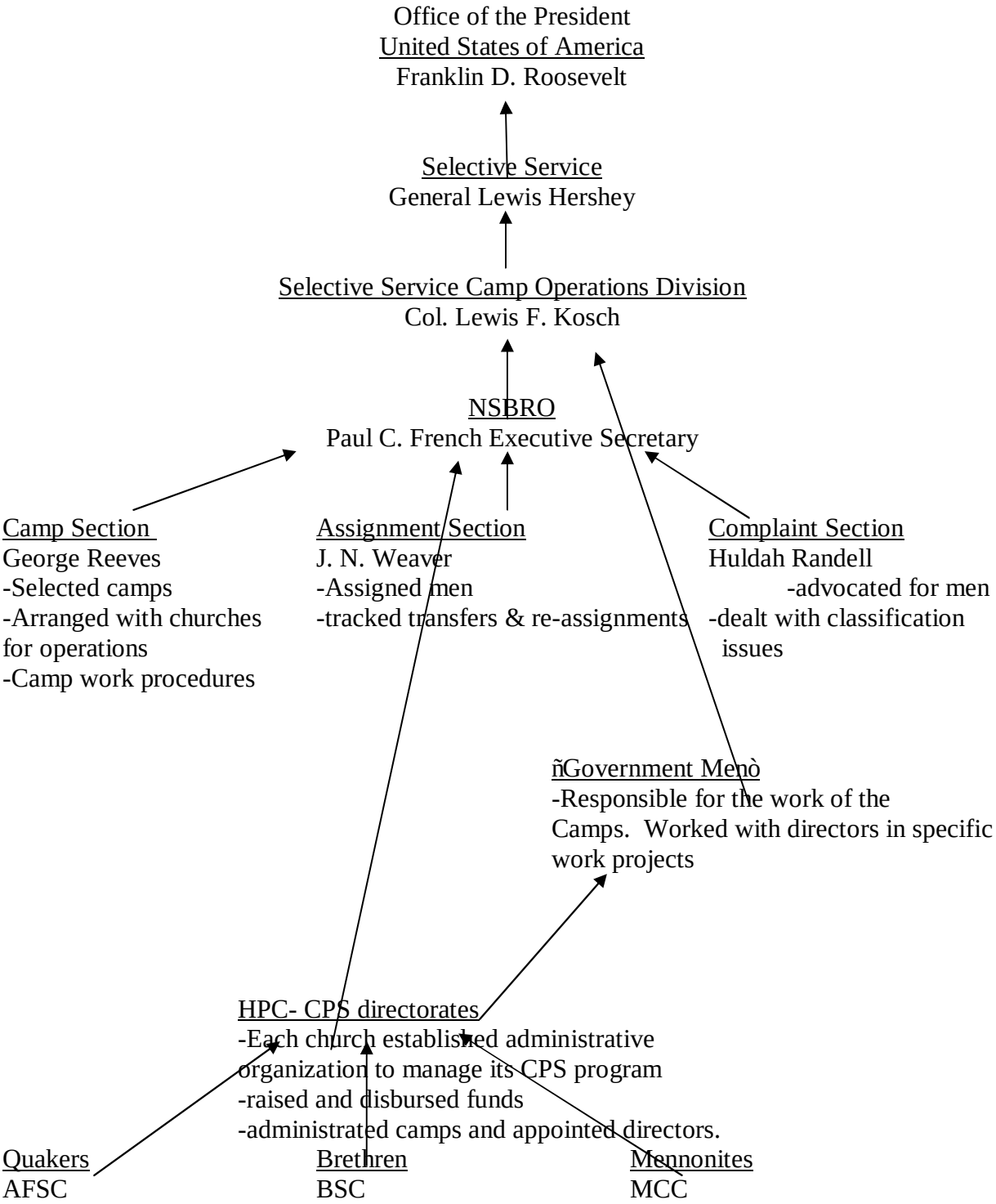
116	Maryland	College Park, Maryland	BSC	Agriculture Experiment Station
117	Exeter	Lafayette, Rhode Island	MCC	State Training School
118	Western State Hospital	Wernersville, Pennsylvania	MCC	State Mental Hospital
119	[no official name assigned]	New Lisbon, New Jersey	AFSC, SSS	State Training School
120	Kalamazoo State Hospital	Kalamazoo, Michigan	MCC	State Mental Hospital
121	[no official name assigned]	Bedford, Virginia	BSC	National Park Service
122	Winnebago State Hospital	Winnebago, Wisconsin	MCC	State Mental Hospital
123	[no official name assigned]	Union Grove, Wisconsin	MCC	State Training School
124	[no official name assigned]	Stockley, Delaware	AFSC, SSS	State Training School
125	University of Maine Experiment Station	Orono, Maine	MCC	Agriculture Experiment Station
126	Beltsville Research	Beltsville, Maryland	MCC	Agriculture Experiment Station
127	[no official name assigned]	American Fork, Utah	MCC	State Training School
128	[no official name assigned]	Lapine, Oregon	SSS	Bureau of Reclamation
129	Pennhurst	Spring City [Grove?], Pennsylvania	AFSC, SSS	State Training School
130	[no official name assigned]	Pownal, Maine	AFSC, SSS	State Training School
131	Cherokee State Hospital	Cherokee, Iowa	MWPC	State Mental Hospital
132	[no official name assigned]	Laurel, Maryland	AFSC, SSS	State Training School
133	Ohio Experiment Station	Wooster, Ohio	AFSC, SSS	Agriculture Experiment Station
134	[no official name assigned]	Belden, California	BSC	U.S. Forest Service
135	Seney Wildlife Refuge	Germfask, Michigan	SSS	Fish & Wildlife Service
136	[no official name assigned]	Skillman, New Jersey	ABHMS	State Mental Hospital
137	Independence State Hospital	Independence, Iowa	EARC	State Mental Hospital
138	[no official name assigned]	Lincoln, Nebraska (& Malcolm & Waterloo)	MCC	Soil Conservation Service
139	Logansport State Hospital	Logansport, Indiana	DOC	State Mental Hospital
140.1	[no official name assigned]	Pinehurst, North Carolina**	AFSC, BSC	Office of the Surgeon General [atypical pneumonia] - *human guinea pig experiments*

140.2	assigned]	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	AFSC, BSC	Office of the Surgeon General [jaundice] - *human guinea pig experiments*
140.3	[no official name assigned]	New Haven, Connecticut	AFSC, BSC	Office of the Surgeon General [neurotropic virus] - *human guinea pig experiments*
140.4	[no official name assigned]	Welfare Island, New York	AFSC, BSC	Office of the Surgeon General [life raft ration] - *human guinea pig experiments*
140.5	[no official name assigned]	New York, New York	AFSC, BSC	Office of the Surgeon General [frost bite] - *human guinea pig experiments*
140.6	[no official name assigned]	Ann Arbor, Michigan	AFSC, BSC	Office of the Surgeon General [physiological hygiene] - *human guinea pig experiments*
140.7	[no official name assigned]	Minneapolis, Minnesota	AFSC, BSC	Office of the Surgeon General [starvation] - *human guinea pig experiments*
140.8	[no official name assigned]	Chicago, Illinois	AFSC, BSC	Office of the Surgeon General [nutrition] - *human guinea pig experiments*
140.9	[no official name assigned]	Chicago, Illinois	AFSC, BSC	Office of the Surgeon General [physiology] - *human guinea pig experiments*
141	Mississippi State Board of Health	Gulfport, Mississippi	MCC	Public Health Service
142	[no official name assigned]	Woodbine, New Jersey	MCC	State Training School
143	Spring Grove State Hospital	Catonsville, Maryland	MCC	State Mental Hospital
144	Hudson River State Hospital	Poughkeepsie, New York	MCC	State Mental Hospital
145	[no official name assigned]	Wassaic, New York		
146	[no official name assigned]	Ithaca, New York	MCC	Agriculture Experiment Station
147	[no official name assigned]	Tiffin, Ohio	MCC	State Training School
148	[no official name assigned]	Minersville, California	SSS	U.S. Forest Service
149	[no official name assigned]	various locations	AFSC, BSC, SSS	U.S. Forest Service Research Project
150	Livermore Veterans' Hospital	Livermore, California	MCC	Veterans' Administration Hospital
151	Roseburg Veterans' Hospital	Roseburg, Oregon	MCC	Veterans' Administration Hospital
152?	[no official name assigned]	Hawaii	SSS	
153?	[no official name assigned]	Alaska	SSS	

* The name of this town is actually Powellville, but CPS directories and publications referred to it as Powellsville.
** Though the official list that this chart duplicates does not include a unit #115.33, there is evidence that unit #140.1 in Pinehurst, created in 1945, had its origins in one of the #115 units from earlier years; the sub-number 33 (i.e., #115.33) listed in this chart was assigned by the SCPC archivist in Feb. 2007

Appendix C

Chain of Command



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